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CONTENTS.

TRACTS RELATING TO THE ATTEMPTS TO CONVERT TO CHRISTIANITY THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

Page

The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England 1

The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England. Or, An Historicall Narration of Gods Wonderfull Workings upon sundry of the Indians, both chief Governors and Common-people, in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to the Ordinances of the Gospel; and framing their hearts to an earnest inquirie after the knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World. By Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD, Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ at Cambridge in New-England. 25

The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England. Manifested by three Letters, under the Hand of that famous Instrument of the Lord Mr. John Eliot, and another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew jun: both Preachers of the Word, as well to the English as Indians in New England. Wherein the riches of Gods Grace in the effectuall calling of many of them is cleared up: As also a manifestation of the hungring desires of many People in sundry parts of that Country, after the more full Revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to the exceeding Consolation of every Christian Reader. Together with an Appendix to the foregoing Letters, holding forth Conjectures, Observations, and Applications. By I. D. Minister of the Gospell. Published by EDWARD WINSLOW. 69

The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, a farther Discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England, Concerning the Progresse of the Gospel amongst them. Manifested by Letters from such as preacht to them there. Published by Henry Whitfeld, late Pastor to the Church of Christ at Gilford in New-England, who came late thence. . . . 100

Strength out of Weaknesse ; Or a Glorious Manifestation of the further Progresse of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England. Held forth in Sundry Letters from divers Ministers and others to the Corporation established by Parliament for promoting the Gospel among the Heathen in New-England ; and to particular Members thereof since the last Treatise to that effect, published by Mr. Henry Whitfield late Pastor of Gilford in New-England. 149

Tears of Repentance : Or, A further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England : Setting forth, not only their present state and condition, but sundry Confessions of Sin by divers of the said Indians, wrought upon by the saving Power of the Gospel ; Together with the manifestation of their Faith and Hope in Jesus Christ, and the Work of Grace upon their Hearts. Related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, two Faithful Laborers in that work of the Lord. Published by the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel there, for the Satisfaction and Comfort of such as wish well thereunto. 197

A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England. Declaring their constant Love and Zeal to the Truth : With a readinesse to give Accompt of their Faith and Hope ; as of their desires in Church Communion to be Partakers of the Ordinances of Christ. Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians, about their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches. Related by Mr. John Eliot. Published by the Corporation, established by Act of Parliament, for Propagating the Gospel there. 261

A List of Representatives in the General Court of Massachusetts, from the Deposition of Sir Edmund Andros, in 1689, to the Commencement of the New Charter, in 1692. By John Farmer. 289

Churches and Ministers in New Hampshire. By John Farmer. (Continued.) 292

Description of some of the Medals, struck in relation to Important Events in North America, before and since the Declaration of Independence by the United States. By James Mease, M. D. 297

General Abstracts of the Bills of Mortality for the City of Boston, for the eight Years 1825 — 1832. . . . 321

Laws and Regulations of the Massachusetts Historical Society, revised and reported by the Standing Committee, pursuant to a Vote of the Society, April 25, 1833. . 331

TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

ATTEMPTS TO CONVERT TO CHRISTIANITY

THE

INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND.

[The seven tracts, which are here reprinted, were written by different individuals, interested in the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, and may be relied upon as authentic narratives of the great efforts made by some of the fathers in our Israel for the spiritual welfare of the children of the forest. The authors are the Rev. Messrs. Eliot, Shepard, Whitfield, Mayhew, and Mr. Edward Winslow. Several of these tracts are in the Library of Harvard University. But the Committee are indebted to the kindness of the American Antiquarian Society for the loan of a volume, which contains the entire series, and which, probably, is the only perfect copy in the country.

Publishing Committee.]

THE

DAY-BREAKING,

IF NOT

The Sun-Rising

OF THE

GOSPELL

With the

INDIANS in New-England.

Zach. 4. 10.
Who hath despised the day of small things?
Matth. 13. 13.
The Kingdome of heaven is like to a graine of mustard seed.
Ibid. Verse 33.
The Kingdome of heaven is like unto Leven.

LONDON,

Printed by *Rich. Cotes*, for *Fulk Clifton*, and are to bee sold at his shop under Saint *Margarets* Church on New-fish-street Hill, 1647.

To the Reader.

HEe that pen'd these following Relations, is a Minister of Christ in New England,* *so eminently godly and faithfull, that what he here reports, as an eye or an eare witnesse, is not to be questioned; Were he willing his name should bee mentioned, it would bee an abundant, if not a redundant, Testimoniall to all that know him.*

Nathan. Warde.

[* The Rev. John Eliot.]

A
TRVE RELATION
OF
Our beginnings with the *INDIANS.*

UPon *October* 28. 1646. four of us (having sought God) went unto the *Indians* inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their * *Wigwams*, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome; who leading us into the principall *Wigwam* of * *Waaubon*, we found many more *Indians*, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learne of us. *Waaubon* the chief minister of Justice among them exhorting and inviting them before thereunto, being one who gives more grounded hopes of serious respect to the things of God, then any that as yet I have knowne of that forlorne generation; and therefore since wee first began to deale seriously with him, hath voluntarily offered his eldest son to be educated and trained up in the knowledge of God, hoping, as hee told us, that he might come to know him, although hee despaired much concerning himself; and accordingly his son was accepted, and is now at school in *Dedham*, whom we found at this time standing by his father among the rest of his *Indian* brethren in English clothes.

* Indian houses or tents made of barks or matts.
* The name of an Indian.

They being all there assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, being not so farre acquainted with the *Indian* [p. 2.] language as to expresse our hearts herein before God or them, but wee hope it will bee done ere long, the *Indians* desiring it that they also might know how to pray; but thus wee began in an unknowne tongue to them, partly to let them know that this dutie in hand was serious and sacred, (for so much some of them understand by what is undertaken at prayer) partly also in regard of our selves, that wee might agree together in the same request and heart sorrowes for them even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon.

When prayer was ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered; professing they understood all that which was then taught them in their owne tongue; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits. For about an houre and a quarter the Sermon continued, wherein one of our company ran thorough all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a repetition of the ten Commandments, and a briefe explication of them, then shewing the curse and dreadfull wrath of God against all those who brake them, or any one of them, or the least title of them, and so applyed it unto the condition of the *Indians* present, with much sweet affection; and then preached Jesus Christ to them the onely meanes of recovery from sinne and wrath and eternall death, and what Christ was, and whither he was now gone, and how hee will one day come againe to judge the world in flaming fire; and of the blessed estate of all those that by faith beleeve in Christ, and know him feelingly: he spake to them also (observing his owne method as he saw most fit to edifie them) about the creation and fall of man, about the greatnesse and infinite being of God, the maker of all things, about the joyes of heaven, and the terrours and horrours of wicked men in hell, perswading them to repentance for severall sins which they live in, and many things of the like nature; not medling with any matters more difficult, and which to such weake ones might at first seeme ridiculous, untill they had tasted and beleeved more plaine and familiar truths.

Having thus in a set speech familiarly opened the principal matters [p. 3.] of salvation to them, the next thing wee intended was discourse with them by propounding certaine questions to see what they would say to them, that so wee might skrue by variety of meanes something or other of God into them; but before wee did this we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken, and whether all of them in the *Wigwam* did understand or onely some few? and they answered to this question with multitude of voyces, that they all of them did understand all that which was then spoken to them. We then desired to know of them, if they would propound any question to us for more cleare understanding of what was delivered; whereupon severall of them propounded presently severall questions, (far different from what some other *Indians* under *Kitshomakin* in the like meeting about six weekes before had done, *viz.* 1. What was the cause of Thunder. 2. Of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea. 3. Of the wind) but the questions (which wee thinke some speciall wisedome of God directed these unto) (which these propounded) were in number six.

The name of one of the chiefe Indians about us.

How may wee come to know Jesus Christ? 1 *Quest.*

Our first answer was, That if they were able to read our Bible, the book of God, therein they should see most cleerely what Jesus Christ was: but because they could not do that; therefore, 1 *Answ.*

Secondly, we wisht them to thinke, and meditate of so much as had been taught them, and which they now heard out of Gods booke, and to thinke much and often upon it, both when they did lie downe on their Mats in their *Wigwams*, and when they rose up, and to goe alone in the fields and woods, and muse on it, and so God would teach them; especially if they used a third helpe, which was, 2 *Answ.*

Prayer to God to teach them and reveale Jesus Christ unto them; and wee told them, that although they could not make any long prayers as the English could, yet if they did but sigh and groane, and say thus; Lord make mee know Jesus Christ, for I know him not, and if they did say so againe and againe with their hearts that God would teach them Jesus Christ, because hee is such a God as will bee found of them that seeke him with all their hearts, and hee is a God hearing the prayers of all men both *Indian* as well as *English*, and that *English* men by this [p. 4.] meanes have come to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. 3 *Answ.*

The last helpe wee gave them was repentance, they must confesse their sinnes and ignorance unto God, and mourne for it, and acknowledge how just it is, for God to deny them the knowledge of Jesus Christ or any thing else because of their sinnes. 4 *Answ.*

These things were spoken by him who had preached to them in their owne language, borrowing now and then some small helpe from the Interpreter whom wee brought with us, and who could oftentimes expresse our minds more distinctly then any of us could; but this wee perceived, that a few words from the Preacher were more regarded then many from the *Indian* Interpreter.

One of them after this answer, replyed to us, that hee was a little while since praying in his *Wigwam*, unto God and Jesus Christ, that God would give him a good heart, and that while hee was praying, one of his fellow *Indians* interrupted him, and told him, that hee prayed in vaine, because Jesus Christ understood not what *Indians* speake in prayer, he had bin used to heare *English* man pray and so could well enough understand them, but *Indian* language in prayer hee thought hee was not acquainted with it, but was a stranger to it, and therefore could not understand them. His question therefore was, whether Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand *Indian* prayers. 2 *Quest.*

This question sounding just like themselves, wee studied to give as familiar an answer as wee could, and therefore in this as in all other our answers, we endeavoured to speake nothing without clearing of it up by some familiar similitude; our answer summarily was therefore this, that Jesus Christ and God by him made all things, and makes all men, not onely *English* but *Indian* men, and if hee made them both (which wee know the light of nature would readily teach as they had been also instructed by us) then hee knew all that was within man and came from man, all his desires, and all his thoughts, and all his speeches, and so all his prayer; and if hee made *Indian* men, then hee knowes all *Indian* prayers also: and therefore wee bid them looke upon that *Indian* Basket that was before them, there was black and white strawes, and many other things they made it of, now though others did not know what those things were who [p. 5.] made not the Basket, yet hee that made it must needs tell all the things in it, so (wee said) it was here.

Answ.

Another propounded this question after this answer, Whether English men were ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as themselves?

3 *Quest.*

When wee perceived the root and reach of this question, wee gave them this answer, that there are two sorts of English men, some are bad and naught, and live wickedly and loosely, (describing them) and these kind of English men wee told them were in a manner as ignorant of Jesus Christ as the *Indians* now are; but there are a second sort of English men, who though for a time they lived wickedly also like other prophane and ignorant English, yet repenting of their sinnes, and seeking after God and Jesus Christ, they are good men now, and now know Christ, and love Christ, and pray to Christ, and are thankfull for all they have to Christ, and shall at last when they dye, goe up to heaven to Christ; and we told them all these also were once as ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as the *Indians* are, but by seeking to know him by reading his booke, and hearing his word, and praying to him, &c. they now know Jesus Christ, and just so shall the *Indians* know him if they so seeke him also, although at the present they bee extremely ignorant of him.

Answ.

How can there be an Image of God, because it's forbidden in the second Commandment?

4 *Quest.*

Wee told them that Image was all one Picture, as the Picture of an *Indian*, Bow and Arrowes on a tree, with such little eyes and such faire hands, is not an *Indian* but the Picture or Image of an *Indian*, and that Picture man makes, and it can doe no hurt nor good. So the Image or Picture of God is not God, but wicked men make it, and this Image can doe no good nor hurt to any man as God can.

Answ.

Whether, if the father bee naught, and the child good, will God bee offended with that child, because in the second Commandment it's said, that hee visits the sinnes of fathers upon the children? 5 *Quest.*

Wee told them the plainest answer wee could thinke of, *viz.* that if the child bee good, and the father bad, God will not bee offended with the child, if hee repents of his owne and his fathers [p. 6.] sinnes, and followes not the steps of his wicked father; but if the child bee also bad, then God will visit the sins of fathers upon them, and therefore wisht them to consider of the other part of the promise made to thousands of them that love God and the *Evangenesh Jehovah*, *i. e.* the Commandments of Jehovah. *Answ.*

How all the world is become so full of people, if they were all once drowned in the Flood? 6 *Quest.*

Wee told them the story and causes of *Noahs* preservation in the Arke at large, and so their questioning ended; and therefore wee then saw our time of propounding some few questions to them, and so take occasion thereby to open matters of God more fully. *Answ.*

Our first question was, Whether they did not desire to see God, and were not tempted to thinke that there was no God, because they cannot see him? *Quest.* 1.

Some of them replyed thus; that indeed they did desire to see him if it could bee, but they had heard from us that hee could not be seene, and they did beleive that though their eies could not see him, yet that hee was to bee seene with their soule within: Hereupon we sought to confirme them the more, and asked them if they saw a great *Wigwam*, or a great house, would they thinke that * *Racoones* or Foxes built it that had no wisedome? or would they thinke that it made it selfe? or that no wise workman made it, because they could not see him that made it? No but they would beleeve some wise workman made it though they did not see him; so should they beleeve concerning God, when they looked up to heaven, Sunne, Moone, and Stars, and saw this great house he hath made, though they do not see him with their eyes, yet they have good cause to beleeve with their soules that a wise God, a great God made it. *Answ.*

* A beast somewhat like a Fox.

We knowing that a great block in their way to beleiving is that there should bee but one God, (by the profession of the English) and yet this God in many places; therefore we asked them whether it did not seeme strange that there should bee but one God, and yet this God in * *Massachusets*, at *Coneetacut*, at *Quimipeiock*, in old England, in this *Wigwam*, in the next every where. *Quest.* 2.

* Three Indian names of places where the English sit downe.

Their answer was by one most sober among them, that indeed it was strange, as every thing else they heard preached was strange [p. 7.] also, and they were wonderfull things which they never heard of before; but yet they thought it might bee true, and that God was so big every where: whereupon we further illustrated what wee said, by wishing them to consider of the light of the Sun, which though it be but a creature made by God, yet the same light which is in this *Wigwam* was in the next also, and the same light which was here at *Massachusets* was at *Quinipeiock* also and in old England also, and every where at one and the same time the same, much more was it so concerning God.

That Hee was present every where.

Whether they did not finde somewhat troubling them within after the commission of sin, as murther, adultery, theft, lying, &c. and what they thinke would comfort them against that trouble when they die and appeare before God, (for some knowledge of the immortality of the soule almost all of them have.)

3. *Quest.*

They told us they were troubled, but they could not tell what to say to it, what should comfort them; hee therefore who spake to them at first concluded with a dolefull description (so farre as his ability to speake in that tongue would carry him) of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sinne, and that shall be cast out of favour with God.

Answ.

Thus after three houres time thus spent with them, wee asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, No. But wee resolved to leave them with an appetite; the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, so wee appointed the time, and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a Town together, which wee did much like of, promising to speake for them to the generall Court, that they might possesse all the compasse of that hill, upon which their Wigwams then stood, and so wee departed with many welcomes from them.

A true relation of our coming to the Indians the second time.

UPon *November* 11. 1646. we came the second time unto the same Wigwam of *Waawbon*, where we found many more Indians met together then the first time wee came to them: and having seates provided for us by themselves, and being sate downe [p. 8.] a while, wee began againe with prayer in the English tongue; our beginning this time was with the younger sort of Indian children in Catechizing of them, which being the first time of instructing

them, we thought meet to aske them but only three questions in their own language, that we might not clog their mindes or memories with too much at first, the questions (asked and answered in the Indian tongue) were these three, 1 *Qu.* Who made you and all the world? *Answ.* God. 2. *Qu.* Who doe you looke should save you and redeeme you from sinne and hell? *Answ.* Jesus Christ. 3. *Qu.* How many commandments hath God given you to keepe? *Answ.* Ten. These questions being propounded to the Children severally, and one by one, and the answers being short and easie, hence it came to passe that before wee went thorow all, those who were last catechized had more readily learned to answer to them, by hearing the same question so oft propounded and answered before by their fellowes; and the other Indians who were growne up to more yeares had perfectly learned them, whom wee therefore desired to teach their children againe when wee were absent, that so when wee came againe wee might see their profiting, the better to encourage them hereunto, wee therefore gave something to every childe.

This Catechisme being soone ended, hee that preached to them, began thus (speaking to them in their own language) *viz. Wee are come to bring you good newes from the great God Almighty maker of Heaven and Earth, and to tell you how evill and wicked men may come to bee good, so as while they live they may bee happy, and when they die they may goe to God and live in Heaven.* Having made this preface, hee began first to set forth God unto them by familiar descriptions, in his glorious power, goodnesse, and greatnesse, and then set forth before them what his will was, and what hee required of all men even of the Indians themselves, in the ten commandments, and then told them the dreadfull torment and punishment of all such as breake any one of those holy commandments, and how angry God was for any sinne and transgression, yet notwithstanding hee had sent Jesus Christ to die for their sinnes and to pacifie God by his sufferings in their stead and roome, if they did repent and beleeve the Gospell, and that hee would love the poore miserable Indians if now they sought God and beleeved [p. 9.] in Jesus Christ: threatening the sore wrath of God upon all such as stood out and neglected such great salvation which now God offered unto them, by those who sought nothing more then their salvation: thus continuing to preach the space of an houre, we desired them to propound some questions; which were these following. Before I name them it may not be amisse to take notice of the mighty power of the word which visibly apeared especially in one of them, who in hearing these things about sinne and hell, and Jesus Christ, powred out many teares and shewed much affliction without affectation of being seene, desiring rather to conceale his griefe which (as was gathered from his carriage) the Lord forced from him.

The first Question was suddenly propounded by an old man then present, who hearing faith and repentance preacht upon
1 *Quest.* them to finde salvation by Jesus Christ, hee asked whether it was not too late for such an old man as hee, who was neare death to repent or seeke after God.

This Question affected us not a little with compassion, and we held forth to him the Bible, and told him what God
Answ. said in it concerning such as are hired at the eleventh houre of the day: wee told him also that if a father had a sonne that had been disobedient many yeares, yet if at last that sonne fall downe upon his knees and weepe and desire his father to love him, his father is so merciſull that hee will readily forgive him and love him; so wee said it was much more with God who is a more merciſull father to those whom hee hath made, then any father can bee to his rebellious childe whom he hath begot, if they fall downe and weepe, and pray, repent, and desire forgivenesse for Jesus Christ's sake; and wee farther added that looke as if a father did call after his childe to returne and repent promising him favour, the childe might then bee sure that his father would forgive him; so wee told them that now was the day of God risen upon them, and that now the Lord was calling of them to repentance, and that he had sent us for that end to preach repentance for the remission of sins, and that therefore they might bee sure to finde favour though they had lived many yeares in sinne, and that therefore if now they did repent it was not too late as the old man feared, but if they did not come when they were thus called, [p. 10.] God would bee greatly angry with them, especially considering that now they must sinne against knowledge, whereas before we came to them they knew not any thing of God at all.

Having spent much time in clearing up the first question, the next they propounded (upon our answer) was this, *viz.*
2. *Quest.* How come the English to differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they had all at first but one father?

Wee confessed that it was true that at first wee had all but one father, but after that our first father fell, hee had divers
Answ. children some were bad and some good, those that were bad would not take his counsell but departed from him and from God, and those God left alone in sinne and ignorance, but others did regard him and the counsell of God by him, and those knew God, and so the difference arose at first, that some together with their posterity knew God, and others did not; and so wee told them it was at this day, for like as if an old man an aged father amongst them have many children, if some of them bee rebellious against the counsell of the father, he shuts them out of doores, and lets them goe, and regards them not, unlesse they returne and re-

pent, but others that will bee ruled by him, they learne by him and come to know his minde; so wee said English men seek God, dwell in his house, heare his word, pray to God, instruct their children out of Gods booke, hence they come to know God; but Indians forefathers were stubborne and rebellious children, and would not heare the word, did not care to pray nor to teach their children, and hence Indians that now are, do not know God at all: and so must continue unlesse they repent, and returne to God and pray, and teach their children what they now may learne: but withall wee told them that many English men did not know God but were like to *Kitchamakins* drunken Indians; Nor were wee willing to tell them the story of the scattering of *Noahs* children since the flood, and thereby to shew them how the Indians come to bee so ignorant, because it was too difficult, and the history of the Bible is reserved for them (if God will) to be opened at a more convenient season in their owne tongue.

Their third question was, How may wee come to serve God? [p. 11.] 3. *Quest.*

Wee asked him that did propound it whether he did desire indeed to serve him? and hee said, yes. Hereupon wee said, first, they must lament their blindnesse and sinfulnesse that they cannot serve him; and their ignorance of Gods booke (which wee pointed to) which directs how to serve him. Secondly, that they could not serve God but by seeking forgivenesse of their sinnes and power against their sinnes in the bloud of Jesus Christ who was preached to them. Thirdly, that looke as an Indian childe, if he would serve his father, hee must first know his fathers will and love his father too, or else he can never serve him, but if hee did know his fathers will and love him, then he would serve him, and then if hee should not doe some things as his father commands him, and yet afterwards grieve for it upon his knees before his father, his father would pity and accept him: so wee told them it was with God, they must labour to know his will and love God, and then they will bee willing to serve him, and if they should then sin, yet grieving for it before God he would pity and accept of them. *Answ.*

Their fourth Question was, How it comes to passe that the Sea water was salt, and the Land water fresh. 4. *Quest.*

'Tis so from the wonderfull worke of God, as why are Strawberries sweet and Cranberries sowre, there is no reason but the wonderfull worke of God that made them so: our study was chiefly to make them acknowledge God in his workes, yet wee gave them also the reason of it from naturall causes which they lesse understood, yet did understand somewhat appearing by their usuall signes of approving what they understand. *Answ.*

A Berry which is ripe in the Winter and very sowre, they are called here Bearberries.

Their fifth Question was, that if the water was higher then the earth, how comes it to passe that it doth not overflow all the earth ?

5. Quest.

Wee still held God before them, and shewed that this must needes bee the wonderfull worke of God, and we tooke an apple and thereby shewed them how the earth and water made one round globe like that apple; and how the Sun moved about it; and then shewed them how God made a great hole or ditch, into which hee put the waters of the Sea, so that though it was upon the earth and therefore above the earth, yet we told them that by making so deepe a hole the waters were kept within compasse [p. 12.] that they could not overflow, just as if Indians making a hole to put in much water, the water cannot overflow nor runne abroad, which they would if they had no such hole; so it was with God, it was his mighty power that digged a hole for all Sea-waters, as a deepe ditch, and there by God kept them in from overflowing the whole earth, which otherwise would quickly drowne all.

Answ.

They having spent much conference amongst themselves about these Questions and the night hastening, we desired them to propound some other Questions, or if not, we would aske them some, hereupon one of them asked us; If a man hath committed adultery or stolen any goods, and the Sachim doth not punish him, nor by any law is hee punished, if also he restore tbe goods he hath stolen, what then? whether is not all well now? meaning that if Gods Law was broken and no man punished him for it, that then no punishment should come from God for it, and as if by restoring againe an amends was made to God.

6. Quest.

Althongh man be not offended for such sinnes yet God is angry, and his anger burnes like fire against all sinners: and here wee set out the holinesse and terrour of God in respect of the least sinne; yet if such a sinner with whom God is angry fly to Jesus Christ, and repent and seeke for mercy and pardon for Christ's sake, that then God will forgive and pity. Upon the hearing of which answer hee that propounded the question drew somewhat backe and hung downe his head as a man smitten to the very heart, with his eyes ready to drop, and within a little while after brake out into a complaint, Mee little know Jesus Christ, otherwise he thought he should seeke him better: we therefore told him, that looke as it was in the morning at first there is but a little light, then there is more light, then there is day, then the Sun is up, then the Sun warmes and heates, &c. so it was true they knew but little of Jesus Christ now, but wee had more to tell them concerning him hereafter, and after that more and after that more, untill at last they may come to know Christ as the English doe; and wee taught them but a little at a time, because they could

Answ.

understand but little, and if they prayed to God to teach them, he would send his Spirit and teach them more, they and their fathers had lived in ignorance untill now, it hath [p. 13.] beene a long night wherein they have slept and have not regarded God, but now the day-light began to stirre upon them, they might hope therefore for more ere long, to bee made knowne to them.

Thus having spent some houres with them, wee propounded two Questions.

What do you remember of what was taught you since the last time wee were here? 1 *Quest.*

After they had spoken one to another for some time, one of them returned this answer, that they did much thanke God for our comming, and for what they heard, they were wonderfull things unto them. *Answ.*

Doe you beleeve the things that are told you, *viz.* that God is *musquantum*, *i. e.* very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or workes? 2 *Quest.*

They said yes, and hereupon wee set forth the terrour of God against sinners, and mercy of God to the penitent, and to such as sought to know Jesus Christ, and that as sinners should bee after death, *Chechainuppan*, *i. e.* tormented alive, (for wee know no other word in the tongue to expresse extreame torture by) so beleevers should after death *Wowein wicke Jehovah*, *i. e.* live in all blisse with *Jehovah* the blessed God: and so we concluded conference. *Answ.*

Having thus spent the whole afternoone, and night being almost come upon us; considering that the Indians formerly desired to know how to pray, and did thinke that Jesus Christ did not understand Indian language, one of us therefore prepared to pray in their own language, and did so for above a quarter of an houre together, wherein divers of them held up eies and hands to heaven; all of them (as wee understood afterwards) understanding the same; but one of them I cast my eye upon, was hanging downe his head with his rag before his eyes weeping; at first I feared it was some sorenesse of his eyes, but lifting up his head againe, having wiped his eyes (as not desirous to be seene) I easily perceived his eyes were not sore, yet somewhat red with crying; and so held up his head for a while, yet such was the presence and mighty power of the Lord Jesus on his heart that hee hung downe his head againe, and covered his eyes againe and so [p. 14.] fell wiping and wiping of them weeping abundantly, continuing thus till prayer was ended, after which hee presently turnes from us, and turnes his face to a side and corner of the Wigwam, and there fals a weeping more aboundantly by himselfe, which one of us perceiving, went to him, and spake to him encouraging words; at the hearing of which hee fell a weeping more and more; so leaving of him, he who spake to him came unto

mee (being newly gone out of the Wigwam) and told mee of his teares, so we resolved to goe againe both of us to him, and speake to him againe, and wee met him comming out of the Wigwam, and there wee spake againe to him, and he there fell into a more abundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affected indeed, which forced us also to such bowels of compassion that wee could not forbeare weeping over him also: and so wee parted greatly rejoycing for such sorrowing.

Thus I have as faithfully as I could remember given you a true account of our beginnings with the Indians within our owne bounds; which cannot but bee matter of more serious thoughts what further to doe with these poore Natives the dregs of mankinde and the saddest spectacles of misery of meere men upon earth: wee did thinke to forbeare going to them this winter, but this last dayes worke wherein God set his seale from heaven of acceptance of our little, makes those of us who are able, to resolve to adventure thorow frost and snow, lest the fire goe out of their hearts for want of a little more fewell: to which we are the more incouraged, in that the next day after our being with them, one of the Indians came to his house who preacht to them to speake with him, who in private conference wept exceedingly, and said that all that night the Indians could not sleepe, partly with trouble of minde, and partly with wondring at the things they heard preacht amongst them; another Indian comming also to him the next day after, told him how many of the wicked sort of Indians began to oppose these beginnings.

Whence these Indians came here to inhabit is not certaine, his reasons are most probable who thinke they are Tartars passing out of *Asia* into *America* by the straits of *Anian*, who being spilt by some revenging hand of God upon this continent like water [p. 15.] upon the ground are spread as farre as these *Atlanticke* shores, there being but few of them in these parts in comparison of those which are more contiguous to the *Anian* straits, if we may credit some Historians herein: what ever these conjectures and uncertainties bee, certaine it is, that they are inheritors of a grievous and fearefull curse living so long without Ephod or Teraphim, and in nearest alliance to the wilde beasts that perish; and as God delights to convey blessings of mercy to the posterity of some, in respect of his promise to their fathers, so are curses entailed and come by naturall descent unto others, for some great sinnes of their Ancestors, as no doubt it is in respect of these. Yet notwithstanding the deepest degeneracies are no stop to the overflowing grace and bloud of Christ, when the time of love shall come, no not to these poore outcasts, the utmost ends of the earth being appointed to bee in time, the Sonne of Gods possession.

Wee are oft upbraided by some of our Countrymen that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of Natives;

auch men have surely more spleene then judgement, and know not the vast distance of Natives from common civility, almost humanity it selfe, and 'tis as if they should reproach us for not making the windes to blow when wee list our selves, it must certainely be a spirit of life from God (not in mans power) which must put flesh and sinewes unto these dry bones: if wee would force them to baptisme (as the Spaniards do about *Cusco*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, having learnt them a short answer or two to some Popish questions) or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coates and shirts, to allure them to it (as some others have done) wee could have gathered many hundreds, yea thousands it may bee by this time, into the name of Churches; but wee have not learnt as yet that art of coyning Christians, or putting Christs name and Image upon copper mettle. Although I thinke we have much cause to bee humbled that wee have not endeavoured more then wee have done their conversion and peace with God, who enjoy the mercy and peace of God in their land. Three things have made us thinke (as they once did of building the Temple) it is not yet time for God to worke, 1. Because till the Jewes come in, there is a seale set upon the hearts of those people, as [p. 16.] they thinke from some Apocalypticall places. 2. That as in nature there is no progresses *ab extremo ad extremum nisi per media*, so in religion such as are so extreamly degenerate, must bee brought to some civility before religion can prosper, or the word take place. 3. Because wee want miraculous and extraordinary gifts without which no conversion can bee expected amongst these; But me thinkes now that it is with the Indians as it was with our New-English ground when we first came over, there was scarce any man that could beleeve that English graine would grow, or that the Plow could doe any good in this woody and rocky soile. And thus they continued in this supine unbeliefe for some yeares, till experience taught them otherwise, and now all see it to bee scarce inferiour to Old-English tillage, but beares very good burdens; so wee have thought of our Indian people, and therefore have beene discouraged to put plow to such dry and rocky ground, but God having begun thus with some few it may bee they are better soile for the Gospel then wee can thinke: I confesse I thinke no great good will bee done till they bee more civilized, but why may not God begin with some few, to awaken others by degrees? nor doe I expect any great good will bee wrought by the English (leaving secrets to God) (although the English surely begin and lay the first stones of Christs Kingdome and Temple amongst them) because God is wont ordinarily to convert Nations and peoples by some of their owne country men who are nearest to them, and can best speake, and most of all pity their brethren and countrimen, but yet if the least beginnings be made by the conversion of two or three, its worth all our time and travailes, and cause of much thankfulnesse

for such seedes, although no great harvests should immediately appeare; surely this is evident, first that they never heard heart-breaking prayer and preaching before now in their owne tongue, that we know of, secondly, that there were never such hopes of a dawning of mercy toward them as now, certainely those aboundant teares which wee saw shed from their eies, argue a mighty and blessed presence of the spirit of Heaven in their hearts, which when once it comes into such kinde of spirits will not easily out againe.

The chiefe use that I can make of these hopefull beginnings, [p. 17.] besides rejoycing for such shinings, is from *Esay* 2. 5. *Oh house of Israel, let us walke in the light of the Lord;* Considering that these blinde Natives beginne to looke towards Gods mountaine now.

The observations I have gathered by conversing with them are such as these.

That none of them slept Sermon or derided Gods messenger:

1. Woe unto those English that are growne bold to doe that, which Indians will not, Heathens dare not.

That there is need of learning in Ministers who preach to Indians, much more to English men and gracious Christians, for

2. these had sundry philosophicall questions, which some knowledge of the arts must helpe to give answer to; and without which these would not have beene satisfied: worse then Indian ignorance hath blinded their eies that renounce learning as an enemy to Gospell Ministeries.

That there is no necessity of extraordinary gifts nor miraculous signes alway to convert Heathens, who being manifest

3. and professed unbeleevers may expect them as soone as any; (signes being given for them that beleeve not 1 *Cor.* 14. 22.) much lesse is there any need of such gifts for gathering Churches amongst professing Christians, (signes not being given for them which beleeve,) for wee see the Spirit of God working mightily upon the hearts of these Natives in an ordinary way, and I hope will; they being but a remnant, the Lord using to shew mercy to the remnant; for there be but few that are left alive from the Plague and Pox, which God sent into those parts, and if one or two can understand they usually talke of it as wee doe of newes, it flies suddainely farre and neare, and truth scattered will rise in time, for ought we know.

If English men begin to despise the preaching of faith and repentance, and humiliation for sinne, yet the poore Hea-

4. thens will be glad of it, and it shall doe good to them; for so they are, and so it begins to doe; the Lord grant that the foundation of our English woe, be not laid in the ruine and contempt of those fundamentall doctrines of faith, repentance, humiliation for sin, &c. but rather relishing the novelties and dreames of

such men as are surfetted with the ordinary food of the Gospell of Christ. [p. 18.] Indians shall weepe to heare faith and repentance preached, when English men shall mourne, too late, that are weary of such truths.

That the deepest estrangements of man from God is no hindrance to his grace nor to the Spirit of grace, for what Nation or people ever so deeply degenerated since *Adams* fall as these Indians, and yet the Spirit of God is working upon them? 5.

That it is very likely if ever the Lord convert any of these Natives, that they will mourne for sin exceedingly, and consequently love Christ dearely, for if by a little measure of light such heart-breakings have appeared, what may wee thinke will bee, when more is let in? they are some of them very wicked, some very ingenious, these latter are very apt and quick of understanding and naturally sad and melancholly (a good servant to repentance,) and therefore there is the greater hope of great heart-breakings, if ever God brings them effectually home, for which we should affectionately pray. 6.

A third meeting with the Indians.

November 26. I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went of a third meeting; the Indians having built more Wigwams in the wonted place of meeting to attend upon the Word the more readily. The preacher understanding how many of the Indians discouraged their fellowes in this worke, and threatning death to some if they heard any more, spake therefore unto them, about temptations of the Devill, how hee tempted to all manner of sinne, and how the evill heart closed with them, and how a good heart abhorred them; the Indians were this day more serious then ever before, and propounded divers questions againe; as 1. Because some Indians say that we must pray to the Devill for all good, and some to God; they would know whether they might pray to the Devill or no. 2. They said they heard the word humiliation oft used in our Churches, and they would know what that meant? 3. Why the English call them Indians, because before they came they had another name? 4. What a Spirit is? 5. Whether they should beleeve Dreames? 6. How the English come to know God so much [p. 19.] and they so little? To all which they had fit answers; but being not present I shall not set them downe: onely their great desire this time was to have a place for a Towne and to learne to spinne.

Sir, I did thinke I should have writ no more to you concerning the Indians; but the Ship lingers in the Harbour, and the Lord Jesus will have you see more of his conquests and triumphes among

these forlorne and degenerate people; surely hee heares the prayers of the destitute and that have long lien downe in the dust before God for these poore prisoners of the pit: surely some of these American tongues and knees must confesse him, and bow downe before him: for the Saturday night after this third meeting (as I am informed from that man of God who then preached to them) there came to his house one *Wampas* a wise and sage Indian, as a messenger sent to him from the rest of the company, to offer unto him his owne sonne and three more Indian children to bee trained up among the English, one of the children was nine yeares old, another eight, another five, another foure: and being demanded why they would have them brought up among the English, his answer was, because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should doe if they were constantly among the English.

The name of an Indian.

This *Wampas* came also accompanied with two more Indians, young lusty men, who offered themselves voluntarily to the service of the English that by dwelling in some of their families, they might come to know Jesus Christ; these are two of those three men whom wee saw weeping, and whose hearts were smitten at our second meeting above mentioned, and continue still much affected, and give great hopes; these two are accepted of and received into two of the Elders houses, but the children are not yet placed out because it is most meet to doe nothing that way too suddainly, but they have a promise of acceptance and education of them either in learning or in some other trade of life in time convenient, to which *Wampas* replyed that the Indians desired nothing more.

These two young men who are thus disposed of, being at an Elders house upon the Sabbath day night, upon some conference [p. 20.] with them, one of them began to confesse how wickedly he had lived, and with how many *Indian* women hee had committed filthinesse, and therefore professed that hee thought God would never looke upon him in love. To which hee had this answer, that indeed that sinne of whoredome was exceeding great, yet if hee sought God for Christs sake to pardon him, and confesse his sinne and repented of it indeed, that the Lord would shew him mercy; and hereupon acquainted him with the story of Christs conference with the Samaritan woman, *John* 4. and how Jesus Christ forgave her although shee lived in that sinne of filthinesse, even when Christ began to speake to her: whereupon he fell a weeping and lamenting bitterly, and the other young man being present and confessing the like guiltinesse with his fellow, hee burst out also into a great mourning, wherein both continued for above halfe an houre together at that time also.

It is wonderfull to see what a little leven and that small mustard-

seed of the Gospell will doe, and how truth will worke when the spirit of Christ hath the setting of it on, even upon hearts and spirits most uncapable; for the last night after they had heard the word this third time, there was an English youth of good capacitie who lodged in *Waaubons Wigwam* that night upon speciall occasion, and hee assured us that the same night *Waaubon* instructed all his company out of the things which they had heard that day from the Preacher, and prayed among them, and awaking often that night continually fell to praying and speaking to some or other of the things hee had heard, so that this man (being a man of gravitie and chiefe prudence and counsell among them, although no * *Sachem*) is like to bee a meanes of great good to the rest of his company unlesse cowardise or witchery put an end (as usually they have done) to such hopefull beginnings.

That is King.

The old man who askt the first question the second time of our meeting (*viz.* whether there was any hope for such old men or no) hath six sonnes, one of his sonnes was a *Pawwaw*, and his wife a great *Pawwaw*, and both these God hath convinced of their wickednesse, and they resolve to heare the word and seeke to the devill no more. This, the two *Indians* who are come to us acquaint us with, and that they now say, that *Chepian*, *i. e.* [p. 21.] the devill is naught, and that God is the author onely of all good as they have been taught. Hee therefore who preacheth to the *Indians* desired them to tell him who were *Pawwaws* when hee went againe to preach amongst them; and upon speciall occasion this *Decemb.* 4. being called of God to another place where the *Indians* use to meet, and having preacht among them, after the Sermon, hee that was the *Pawwaw* of that company was discovered to him, to whom hee addressed himselfe and propounded these questions, viz. 1. Whether doe you thinke that God or *Chepian* is the author of all good? he answered, God. 2. If God bee the author of all good, why doe you pray to *Chepian* the devill? The *Pawwaw* perceiving him to propound the last question with a sterne countenance and unaccustomed terrour, hee gave him no answer, but spake to other *Indians* that hee did never hurt any body by his *Pawwawing*, and could not bee got by all the meanes and turnings of questions that might bee, to give the least word of answer againe; but a little after the conference was ended, hee met with this *Pawwaw* alone and spake more lovingly and curteously to him, and askt him why hee would not answer, he then told him that his last question struck a terrour into him and made him afraid, and promised that at the next meeting hee would propound some question to him as others did.

That is Sorcerers and Witches.

And here it may not bee amisse to take notice of what these two *Indians* have discovered to us concerning these *Pawwaws*: for they were askt how they came to bee made *Pawwaws*, and they answer-

ed thus, that if any of the *Indians* fall into any strange dreame wherein *Chepian* appeares unto them as a serpent, then the next day they tell the other *Indians* of it, and for two dayes after the rest of the *Indians* dance and rejoyce for what they tell them about this Serpent, and so they become their *Pawwaws*: Being further askt what doe these *Pawwaws*, and what use are they of; and they said the principall imployment is to cure the sick by certaine odde gestures and beatings of themselves, and then they pull out the sicknesse by applying their hands to the sick person and so blow it away: so that their *Pawwaws* are great witches having fellowship with the old Serpent, to whom they pray, and by whose meanes they heale sicke persons, and (as they [p. 22.] said also) will shew many strange juglings to the wonderment of the *Indians*. They affirmed also that if they did not cure the sick party (as very often they did not) that then they were reviled, and sometime killed by some of the dead mans friends, especially if they could not get their mony againe out of their hands, which they receive aforehand for their cure.

Wee have cause to be very thankfull to God who hath moved the hearts of the generall court to purchase so much land for them to make their towne in which the *Indians* are much taken with, * and it is somewhat observable that while the Court were considering where to lay out their towne, the *Indians* (not knowing of any thing) were about that time consulting about Lawes for themselves, and their company who sit downe with *Waaubon*; there were ten of them, two of them are forgotten.

* *This towne the Indians did desire to know what name it should have, and it was told them it should bee called* Noonatomen, *which signifies in English rejoycing, because they hearing the word, and seeking to know God, the English did rejoyce at it, and God did rejoyce at it, which pleased them much; & therefore that is to be the name of their towne.*

Their Lawes were these.

1. That if any man be idle a wecke, at most a fortnight, hee shall pay five shillings.

2. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, hee shall pay twenty shillings.

3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall bee tied behind him and carried to the place of justice to bee severely punished.

4. Every young man if not anothers servant, and if unmarried, hee shall be compelled to set up a *Wigwam* and plant for himselfe, and not live shifting up and downe to other *Wigwams*.

5. If any woman shall not have her haire tied up but hang loose or be cut as mens haire, she shall pay five shillings.

6. If any woman shall goe with naked breasts they shall pay two shillings six pence.

7. All those men that weare long locks shall pay five shillings.

8. If any shall kill their lice betweene their teeth, they shall pay

five shillings. This Law though ridiculous to English eares yet tends to preserve cleanlinesse among *Indians*.

'Tis wonderfull in our eyes to understand by these two honest [p. 23.] *Indians*, what Prayers *Waaubon* and the rest of them use to make, for hee that preacheth to them professeth hee never yet used any of their words in his prayers, from whom otherwise it might bee thought that they had learnt them by rote, one is this.

Amanaomen Jehovah tahassen metagh.
Take away Lord my stony heart.
Another.
Chechesom Jehovah kekowhogkow,
Wash Lord my soule.
Another.
Lord lead mee when I die to heaven.

These are but a taste, they have many more, and these more enlarged then thus expressed, yet what are these but the sprinklings of the spirit and blood of Christ Jesus in their hearts? and 'tis no small matter that such dry barren and long-accursed ground should yeeld such kind of increase in so small a time. I would not readily commend a faire day before night, nor promise much of such kind of beginnings, in all persons, nor yet in all of these, for wee know the profession of very many is but a meere paint, and their best graces nothing but meere flashes and pangs, which are suddenly kindled and as soone go out and are extinct againe, yet God doth not usually send his Plough & Seedsman to a place but there is at least some little peece of good ground, although three to one bee naught: and mee thinkes the Lord Jesus would never have made so fit a key for their locks, unlesse hee had intended to open some of their doores, and so to make way for his comming in. Hee that God hath raised up and enabled to preach unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gratious and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in, & do good by. I did think never to have opened my mouth to any, to desire those in England to further any good worke here, but now I see so many things inviting to speak in this businesse, that it were well if you did lay before those that are prudent and able these considerations.

1. That it is prettie heavy and chargeable to educate and traine up those children which are already offered us, in schooling, cloathing, diet and attendance, which they must have.

2. That in all probabilitie many *Indians* in other places, especially [p. 24.] under our jurisdiction, will bee provoked by this example in these, both to desire preaching, and also to send their children to us, when they see that some of their fellowes fare so well among the English, and the civill authoritie here so much favouring and countenancing of these, and if many more come in, it will bee more heavy to such as onely are fit to keepe them, and yet have their hands and knees infeebled so many wayes besides.

3. That if any shall doe any thing to incourage this worke, that it may bee given to the Colledge for such an end and use, that so from the Colledge may arise the yeerly revenue for their yeerly maintenance. I would not have it placed in any particular mans hand for feare of cousenage or misplacing or carelesse keeping and improving; but at the Colledge it's under many hands and eyes the chief and best of the country who have been & will be exactly carefull of the right and comely disposing of such things; and therefore, if any thing bee given, let it bee put in such hands as may immediatly direct it to the President of the Colledge, who you know will soone acquaint the rest with it; and for this end if any in England have thus given any thing for this end, I would have them speake to those who have received it to send it this way, which if it bee withheld I thinke 'tis no lesse then sacriledge: but if God moves no hearts to such a work, I doubt not then but that more weake meanes shall have the honour of it in the day of Christ.

A fourth meeting with the Indians.

THis day being *Decemb.* 9. the children being catechised, and that place of *Ezekiel* touching the dry bones being opened, and applyed to their condition; the *Indians* offered all their children to us to bee educated amongst us, and instructed by us, complaining to us that they were not able to give any thing to the English for their education: for this reason there are therefore preparations made towards the schooling of them, and setting up a Schoole among them or very neare unto them. Sundry questions also were propounded by them to us, and of us to them; one of them being askt what is sinne? hee answered a naughty heart. Another old man complained to us of his feares, *viz.* that hee [p. 25.] was fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, but still hee was in feare whether he should goe to hell or heaven; and thereupon the justification of a sinner by faith in Christ was opened unto him as the remedy against all feares of hell. Another complayned of other *Indians* that did revile them, and call them Rogues and such like speeches for cutting off their Locks, and for cutting their Haire in a modest manner as the New-English generally doe; for since the word hath begun to worke upon their hearts, they have discerned the vanitie and pride which they placed in their haire, and have therefore of their owne accord (none speaking to them that we know of) cut it modestly; they were therefore encouraged by some there present of chiefe place and account with us, not to feare the reproaches of wicked *Indians*, nor their witch-craft and *Pawwaws* and poysonings, but let them know that if they did not dissemble but would seeke God unfaignedly, that they would stand by them, and that God also would be with them. They told us also of divers *Indians*

who would come and stay with them three or foure dayes, and one Sabbath, and then they would goe from them, but as for themselves, they told us they were fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, to which wee incouraged them, and night drawing on were forced to leave them, for this time.

FINIS.

THE

Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel

BREAKING FORTH

UPON THE

INDIANS

IN

NEW-ENGLAND.

OR,

An Historicall Narration of Gods

Wonderfull Workings upon sundry of the INDIANS, both chief Governors and Common-people, in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to the Ordinances of the Gospel; and framing their hearts to an earnest inquirie after the knowledge of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World.

By Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ at *Cambridge* in *New-England.*

Isaiah 2. 2, 3. *And it shall come to passe in the last dayes, that the mountain of the Lords house shall bee established in the top of the mountains, and shall bee exalted above the hills; and all Nations shall flow unto it.*

And many people shal go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his wayes, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

London, Printed by *R. Cotes* for *John Bellamy* at the three golden Lions in *Cornhill* near the Royall Exchange, 1648.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOVRABLE

THE

LORDS & COMMONS

Assembled

In High Court of Parliament.

Right Honorable,

THese *few* sheets *present* unto your view a *short* but welcome *discourse* of the visitations of the *most High* upon the *saddest* spectacles of *degeneracy* upon earth, The *poore Indian People:* the *distance* of place, (if our *spirits* be right) will be no *lessening* of the mercy, nor of our *thankefulnesse*, That *Christ* is glorified, that the *Gospel* doth any where find *footing;* and successe is a *mercy* as well worthy the *praise* of the *Saints* on Earth, as the *joy* of the *Angels* in heaven. The *report* of this mercy is *first* made to you, who are the *Representative* of this Nation, That in you *England* might bee stirred up, to be Rejoycers in, and Advancers of these promising beginnings. And because to you an *account* is *first* due of the *successe* of the Gospel in those *darke* corners of the World, which have been so much *inlightned* by Your favour, *enlivened* by Your resolutions, *encouraged* by Your fore-past indeavours for God, & hope stil being parts of Your selves, to be *further* strengthned by Your benigne aspects and bountifull influences on them.

The present *troubles* have not so far *obliterated* and worn out the sad *mispressions* which *former* times have made upon our spirits, but we can *sadly* remember those *destructive* designes which were on foot, and carryed on for the *Introduction* of so great *evils* both into *Church* and *State;* In order to which it was the *endeavour* of the *Contrivers* and *Promoters* of those designes, *to wast* the number of the godly, as those who would never be brought to *comply* in such destructive enterprises; which was attempted by *banishing* and *forcing* some abroad, by *burthening* and *afflicting* all at home. Among those who *tasted* of the *first*, I say not the *worst* sort of their cruelty, were these our *Brethren*, who to enjoy the *liberties* of the Gospel, were *content* to sit downe, and pitch their *tents* in the *utmost* parts of the Earth, hoping that there they might be out of the *reach* of their malice, as they were assured they were beyond the *bounds* of their love. God who doth often make mans *evill* of sin, serviceable to the *advancement* of the *riches* of his owne Grace; The most *horrid* act that ever was done by the *sonnes* of men, the *murther* of Christ, God made *serviceable* to the highest *purposes* of Grace and mercy that ever *came* upon his breast; That God doth shew that hee had *mercifull* ends, in this their *malicious* purpose: as hee suffer'd *Paul* to be cast into prison, to *convert* the Jaylor, to be shipwrackt at *Melita*, to *preach* to the *barbarous*, so he *suffer'd* their way to be *stopped* up here, and their persons to be *banished* hence, that hee might *open* a passage for them in the Wildernesse, and make them *instruments* to draw soules to him, who had been so long *estranged* from him.

Acts 16. 30, 33, 34.
Acts 28. 1. 11.

It was the end of the *adversary* to suppresse, but Gods to *propagate* the Gospel; theirs to *smother* and put out the light, Gods to *communicate* and disperse it to the *utmost* corners of the Earth; that as one saith of *Paul, his blindnesse gave light to the whole World*, so we hope God will make their distance and *estrangednesse* from us, a meanes of *bringing* many near and in to acquaintance with him.

Cæcitas *Pauli* totius orbis illuminatio. Acts 9. 9.

Indeed *a long time* it was before God let them see any *farther* end of their comming over, then to *preserve* their consciences, *cherish* their Graces, *provide* for their sustenance: But when *Providences* invited their return, he let them *know* it was for some farther Arrand that hee *brought* them thither, giving them some *Bunches* of Grapes, some *Clusters* of Figs in *earnest* of the prosperous *successe* of their endeavours upon those *poor outcasts:* The *utmost* ends of the earth are *designed* and promised to be *in time* the possessions of Christ; And *hee sends his Ministers into every place where he himself intends to come,* and take possession. Where the *Ministery* is the *Harbinger* and goes before, Christ and *Grace* will *certainly* follow after. Psal. 2. 8. Isa. 5. 10, 11, 12. Isa. 11. 9, 10. Luke 10. 1.

This little we see is *something* in hand, to *earnest* to us those things which are in hope; something in *possession,* to assure us of the *rest* in promise, when the *ends* of the earth shall see his glory, and *the Kingdomes of the world shall become the Kingdomes of the Lord and his Christ, when hee shall have Dominion from Sea to Sea, and they that dwell in the wildernesse shall bow before him.* And if the *dawn* of the *morning* be so delightfull, what will the *clear* day be? If the *first fruits* be so precious, what wil the *whole harvest* be? if some *beginnings* be so ful of joy, what will it be when God shall *perform* his *whole* work, when *the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea,* and East and West shal sing together the song of the Lamb? Psal. 22 27. Rev. 11. 15. Psal. 72. 8, 9, 10, 11. Isa. 11. 9, 10.

In *order* to this what doth God *require* of us, but that we should *strengthen* the hands, *incourage* the hearts of those who are at *work* for him, *conflicting* with difficulties, *wrestling* with discouragements, to *spread* the Gospel, & in that, the *fame* and honor of this Nation, to the *utmost* ends of the earth? It was the *design* of your *enemies* to make them *little,* let it be your *endevor* to *make* them *great,* their *greatnesse* is your strength. Their

enemies threatned *their* hands should *reach* them for evil, God *disappointed* them; And let your *hands* reach them now for good; there is enough in them to speak them fit *objects* of your incouragement, they are men of *choice* spirits, not *frighted* with dangers, *softned* with allurements, nor *discouraged* with difficulties, *preparing* the way of the Lord in those *unpassable* places of the earth, dealing with such *whom* they are to *make* men, before they can *make* them Christians. They are such who are *impressed* for your service in the *service* of Christ, can *stand* alone, but desire to have *dependence* on you, they feare not the *malice* of their enemies, but *desire* the countenance and incouragement of their friends; And shal your *Honors* in *consideration* of their *former* sufferings, their *present* service, and *reall* deservings, *help the day of small things among them;* shal you interest them in your assistances, as you are interessed in their affections, you wil thereby not only *further* these *beginnings* of God by *incouraging* their hearts, and *strengthning* their hands to *work* for him, but also (as we humbly conceive) much add to the *comfort* of your owne *accounts* in the day of the Lord, and lay greater obligations on them *yet more* to *pray* for you, to *promote* your counsels, and together with us your *unworthy servants* to *write down* themselves,

Yours humbly devoted in the service of the Gospel.

Stephen Marshall	*John Downam*	*Tho. Goodwin*
Jeremy Whitaker	*Philip Nye*	*Tho. Case*
Edm. Calamy	*Syd. Symptson*	*Simeon Ashe*
William Greenhill	*William Carter*	*Samuel Bolton.*

TO THE

Godly and well affected of this Kingdome of *ENGLAND*;

who pray for, and rejoyce in, the thrivings of the Gospel of our *LORD JESVS*.

Christian Reader,

IF ever thou hadst experience of this day of power, these visitations of Christ upon thine own spirit; I suppose thee to be one who hast embarqu'd *many prayers for the* successe *of the Gospel in these* darke corners *of the earth; to* strengthen *thy faith*, inlarge *thy heart, and assure thy soul that God is* a God hearing prayers: *An* account *is here given to thee of the* conquests *of the Lord Iesus upon these poor out-casts, who have thus long been estranged from him, spilt like* water *upon the ground and none to gather them. Formerly thou had*, The Day-break, *some* dawnings *of light, after a long and black night of darkenes, here thou seest* the sun is up, *which wee hope* will rejoice like the strong man to run its race, *scattering those thick clouds of darknesse, and* shining *brighter and brighter* till it come to a perfect day. *These few sheets give thee some* footing *for such thoughts, and some further* incouragments *to wait & pray for the* accomplishment *of such things. Here thou mayst see, the* Ministry *is precious*, the feet of them who bring glad tidings beautifull, Ordinances *desired, the* Word *frequented, and attended, the* Spirit *also going forth in* power *and efficacy with it, in* awakening *and* humbling *of them, drawing forth those* affections *of sorrow, and expressions of* tears *in abundance, which no tortures or* extremities *were ever observed to* force *from them, with* lamenting: *we read here, their leaving of sinne, they* forsake *their* former *evill wayes, and set up* fences *never to returne, by making* laws *for the* punishment *of those sins wherein they have lived, and to which they have been so much addicted. They set up* prayers *in their families* morning *and* evening, *and are in* earnest *in them; And with more* affection *they* crave *Gods blessing upon a little parched corn, &* Indian *stalks, then many of us do upon our greatest plenty and abundance. They* rest *on the Lords day, and make laws for the* observation *of it, wherein they* meet *together to pray & instruct one another in the things of God, which have been* commu-

nicated *to them. They renounce their* diabolicall *Charmes and Charmers, and many of those who were* practitioners *in these sinfull and soul-undoing Arts, being made naked,* convinced *and ashamed of their evill,* forsake *their way, and betake themselves to prayer, preferring the* Christian Charm, *before their* diabolical Spells: *herein God making good that promise Zeph.* 2. 11. I will famish al the Gods of the earth, *(which he doth by withdrawing the worshippers, and throwing contempt upon the worship)* And men shal worship me alone every one from his place, even all the Isles of the Heathens.

Isa. 26. 16. לחש Incantatio, mussitatio. Jer. 8. 17. Eccles. 10. 11.

All these are hopefull presages *that God is* going *out in his* power *and grace to* conquer *a people to himself; That he begins to cast an* owning *look on them, whom he hath so long* neglected *&* despised. *And indeed God may wel* seek *out for other* ground *to sow the seed of his* Ordinances *upon, seeing the* ground *where it hath been* sown *hath brought forth no* better *fruit to him; he may well* bespeak *another people to himself, seeing he* finds *no better* entertainment *among the people he hath* espoused *to him, and that by so many* mercies, priviledges, indeerments, ingagements. *We have as many* sad symptomes *of a* declining, *as these poor outcasts have* glad presages *of a* Rising *Sun among them. The* Ordinances *are as much* contemned *here, as* frequented *there; the* Ministery *as much* discouraged *here, as embraced there;* Religion *as much derided, the* ways *of godliness as much* scorned *here, as they can be* wished *and desired there; generally wee are* sick *of plenty, wee surfet of our abundance, the worst of Surfets, and with our* loathed Manna *and* disdained *food, God is* preparing *them a* Table *in the wildernes; where our* satieties, *wil be their* sufficiencies; *our* complaints, *their* contents; *our* burthens, *their* comforts; *if he cannot have an* England *here, he can have an* England *there; &* baptize *& adopt them into those* priviledges, *which wee have* looked *upon as our burthens. We have* sad decayes *upon us, we are a* revolting *Nation, a people* guilty *of great* defection *from God. Some fall from the* worship *of God to their old* superstitions, *and corrupt worship, saying with those in Ieremy,* It was better with us then now. *Some fall from the* doctrin *of grace to errors, some to* damnable, *others to* defiling, *some to* destructive, *others to* corruptive *opinions. Some fall from* professed *seeming holynes, to sin & profanenes; who like* blazing *comets did shine* bright *for a time, but after have* set *in a* night *of darknes. We have many* sad symptomes *on us, we* decay *under all the* means *of nourishment, are* barren *under all Gods* sowings, dry *under al the* dews, *droppings showres of heaven, like that Country whereof* Historians *speak,* where drought causeth dirt, and showres causeth dust. *And what doth God* threaten *herein, but to* remove *the*

Act. 14. 16. Acts 17. 30. ὑπεριδών.

Siccitas dat lutum, imbres pulverem.

Candlesticks, *to take away the Gospel, that* pretious *Gospel, the* streams *whereof have brought so many* ships *laden with blessings to our shoar, that Gospel under the* shadow *whereof we have* sate *down and been* refreshed *these many years? where the* power *is lost, God will not* long *continue the* form, *where the* heat *is gone, he wil not* long *continue the light. The* temple *did not* preserve *the Iews when their* hearts *were the* Synagogues *of Satan, nor shall any* outward priviledge *hold us up, when the* inward power *is down in our spirits. God hath* forsaken *other* Churches *as eminent as ever* England *was: where are the* churches *of* Asia, *once* famous *for the gospel, for general* Councels, *now places for* Zion *and* Ochim, *their* habitation *desolate? where are those* ancient *people of the Iews who were (segulla micol hagnâmim)* his peculiar and chosen people of al nations? *they are* scattered *abroad as a curse, and their* place *knows them no more. And shall I tel you? God hath no* need *of us, he can cal them* Gnammi, *his people, who were* Lo gnammi, *not his people, and them* beloved, *who were not* beloved. *Indeed he hath* held *up us, as if he had not* known *where to have* another *people, if he should* forsake *us; we have been a* Goshen, *when others have been an* Egypt, *a* Canaan, *when others an* Akeldama, *the* garden *of God, when others have been a wildernesse, our* fleece *hath been* wet, *when others have been* dry: *But* know, *God hath no need of us, he can* want *no people if he* please *to call; If he speake,* all the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the Nations shall worship before him. Psal. 22. 27, 28. &c. 1 Esa 9. 10.

If he set up his standard, to him shal the Gentiles flock, *and* the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. *It is not for* need *but for* love *that God abides with* England, *and there is nothing out of himselfe the* incentive *of this love: there can be no* reason *given why God should* fence *us, and* suffer *other places to lye wast, that we should bee his* Garden, *and other places a* Wildernes, *that he should* feed *us with the* bread *of Heaven, and* suffer *others to* starve, *men of the same mould, his* offspring *as well as we, and such (did he* conquer *to himselfe) were likely to doe him* more *service, bring him* more *glory then we have done. Wee see something here done in order to such a work, our* Harvest *is much over, we see little incomes, there we see the* fields are ripe for harvest; *here the* ministry *is contemned,* there *the* feet of them that bring glad tydings are beautifull; *we have* outlived *the power and efficacy of Ordinances, there God goes forth with* life *and power; we can* outfit *the most speaking and* winning discoveries *of Christ, there every* notion, *breeds* motion *in them; the* glory *of the Lord is much* departed *from us, there his* rising *is conspicuous and glorious. The* blind *man found it* good *to be in the* way *where Christ came: And who would be in* Ægypt *when there is* light *in*

Amat deus, non aliunde hoc habet, sed ipse est unde amat. Aug.

Goshen? *Oh that* England *would be* quickned *by their risings, and* weep *over her own declinings! What a* wonder *is it that they should doe* so much, *and we* so little, *that they should be* men *in their infancy, and we such* children *in our* manhood, *that they so active, we so dead? That which was* Hieroms *complaint may be ours,* O that Infidelity should do that which those who professe themselves beleevers cannot do! *We have the* light *of former times, but want the* heat, *knowledge* abounds *as the* waters cover *the sea, but we* want *the salt; we have a* form *of Godlinesse, but want the* power: *And it wil be* smal *comfort should God* continue *to us the form, and* cary *to others the* power, *to suffer us to* wast *our selvs with* unnecessary *brangles (which are the* sweat *of the times) and in the mean to cary the life and* power *of* Religion *unto others.*

Heu! quod præstat infidelitas quod non præstitit fides.

Ignis qui in parentibus fuit Calidus, in nobis Lucidus.

Let these poor Indians *stand up* incentives *to us, as the Apostle set up the* Gentiles *a* provocation *to the Iews: who knows but God* gave *life to* New England, *to* quicken Old, *and hath* warmed *them, that they might* heat *us,* raised *them from the dead, that they might* recover *us from that consumption, and those sad* decayes *which are come upon us?*

Rom 11. 14.

This smal Treatise *is an* Essay *to that end, an* Indian Sermon, *though you will not* hear *us, possibly when some* rise *from the* dead *you will* hear *them. The main* Doctrin *it preacheth unto all, is to* value *the Gospel,* prize *the Ministry,* loath *not your Manna, surfet not of your plenty, be* thankfull *for mercies,* fruitfull *under means:* Awake *from your slumber,* repair *your decayes,* redeem *your time,* improve *the seasons of your peace;* answer *to cals,* open *to knocks,* attend *to whispers,* obey *commands; you have a* name *you live, take heed you bee not* dead, *you are* Christians *in* shew, *be so* indeed: *least as you have* lost *the power, God take away from you the form also.*

And you that are Ministers *learn by this not to* despond *though you see not* present *fruit of your labors,* though you fish all night and catch nothing, *God hath* a fulnesse *of time to* perform *all his purposes. And the* deepest *degeneracies, &* widest *estrangements from God, shall be no* bar *or obstacle to the* power *and freenesse of his owne grace when that* time *is come.*

And you that are Merchants, *take* incouragement *from hence to* scatter *the beames of light, to* spread *and propagate the* Gospel *into those dark* corners *of the earth; whither you* traffick *you* take much *from them, if you can* carry *this to them, you wil make them an* abundant *recompence. And you that are* Christians *indeed, rejoice to see the* Curtaines *of the Tabernacle inlarged, the* bounds *of the Sanctuary extended,* Christ *advanced, the* Gospel *propagated, and* souls *saved. And if ever the love of God did* center *in your hearts, if*

ever the sense *of his goodness hath begot* bowels *of compassion in you, draw them forth* towards *them whom God hath* singled *out to be the* objects *of his grace and mercy; lay out your prayers, lend your assistance to carry on this* day of the Lord *begun among them. They are not able (as* Moses *said)* to bear the burthen of that people alone, *to make* provision *for the* children *whom God hath given them; & therefore it is requisite the* spiritual community *should help to bear part with them. Many of the* young ones *are given and taken in, to be* educated *& brought up in* Schooles, *they are* naked *and must be* clad, *they* want *al things, and must be* supplyed. *The Parents also, and many others being convinced of the evill of an* idle life, *desire to be* employed *in honest labor, but they want* instruments *and tooles to set them on work, and* cast-garments *to throw upon those bodies,* that their loins may blesse you, *whose* souls *Christ hath cloathed. Some* worthy persons *have given much; and if God shall* move *the heart of others to* offer willingly *towards the building of Christ a* Spirituall temple, *it will certainly* remain *upon their account, when the* smallest rewards *from God, shall be better then the greatest layings out for God. But we are making a relation, not a collection; we leave the whole to your Christian consideration, not doubting but they who have tasted of mercy from God, will be ready to exercise compassion to others, & commend you unto him* who gave himself for us, that hee might redeem us from all iniquity, and purifie *as well as purchase* unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works. Tit 9. 14.

Stephen Marshall	*John Downam*	*Tho. Goodwin*
Ier. Whitaker	*Philip Nye*	*Tho. Case*
Edmund Calamy	*Sy. Simpson*	*Simeon Ashe*
William Greenhill	*William Carter*	*Samuel Bolton.*

THE CLEARE SVNSHINE OF THE GOSPELL,

Breaking forth upon the INDIANS in *New-England.*

Much Honored and deare Sir,

THat glorious and sudden rising of Christ Jesus upon our poore *Indians* which began a little before you set saile from these shores, hath not been altogether clouded since, but rather broken out further into more light and life, wherewith the most High hath visited them; and because some may call in question the truth of the first relation, either because they may thinke it too good newes to be true, or because some persons maligning the good of the Countrey, are apt, as to aggravate to the utmost any evill thing against it, so to vilifie and extenuate any good thing in it: and because your selfe desired to heare how farre since God hath carried on that worke, which your owne eyes saw here begun; I shall therefore as faithfully and as briefly as I can, give you a true relation of the progresse of it, which I hope may be a sufficient confirmation of what hath been published to [p. 2.] the world before, having this as the chiefe end in my owne eye, that the precious Saints and people of God in *England*, beleeving what hath been and may bee reported to them, of these things, may help forward this work together with us by their prayers and prayses, as we desire to doe the like for the worke of Christ begun among them there. I dare not speake too much, nor what I thinke about their conversion, I have seen so much falsenesse in that point among many English, that I am slow to beleeve herein too hastily concerning these poore naked men; onely this is evident to all honest hearts that dwell neer them, and have observed them, that the work of the Lord upon them (what ever it bee) is both unexpected and wonderfull in so short a time; I shall set downe things as they are, and then your selfe and others to whom these may come, may judge as you please of them.

Soon after your departure hence, the awakening of these *Indians* in our Towne raised a great noyse among all the rest round about us, especially about *Concord* side where the * *Sachim* (as I remember) and one or two more of his men, hearing of these things and of the preaching of the Word, and how it wrought among them here, came therefore hither to * *Noonanetum* to the *Indian* Lecture, and what the Lord spake to his heart wee know not, only it seems hee was so farre affected, as that he desired to become more like to the English, and to cast off those *Indian* wild and sinfull courses they formerly lived in; but when divers of his men perceived their *Sachims* mind, they secretly opposed him herein; which opposition being known, he therefore called together his chiefe men about him, & made a speech to this effect unto them, "*viz.* That "they had no reason at all to oppose those courses the English were "now taking for their good, for (saith hee) all the time you have "lived after the *Indian* fashion under the power and protection of "higher *Indian Sachems*, what did they care for you? they onely "sought their owne ends out of you, and therefore would exact "upon you, and take away your skins and your *Kettles* & your "*Wampam* from you at their own pleasure, & this was al that they "regarded: but you may evidently see that the English mind no "such things, care for none of your goods, but onely seeke your "good and welfare, and in stead of taking away, are ready to give "to you; with many other things I now [p. 3.] forget, which were related by an eminent man of that town to me. What the effect of this speech was, we can tell no otherwise then as the effects shewed it; the first thing was, the making of certain Lawes for their more religious and civill government and behaviour, to the making of which, they craved the assistance of one of the chiefe *Indians* in *Noonanetum*, a very active *Indian* to bring in others to the knowledge of God; desiring withall an able faithfull man in *Concord* to record and keep in writing what they had generally agreed upon. Another effect was, their desire of * Mr. *Eliots* coming up to them, to preach, as he could find time among them; and the last effect was, their desire of having a Towne given them within the bounds of *Concord* neare unto the English. This latter when it was propounded by the *Sachim* of the place, he was demanded why hee desired a towne so neare, when as there was more roome for them up in the Country. To which the *Sachim* replyed, that he therefore desired it because he knew that if the *Indians* dwelt far from the English, that they would not so much care to pray, nor would they be so ready to heare the Word of God, but they would be all one *Indians* still; but dwelling neare the English he hoped it might bee otherwise with them then. The Town

* An inferiour Prince.

* An Indian town so called.

* Teacher of the Church of *Roxbury*, that preacheth to the *Indians* in their own Language.

therefore was granted them; but it seemes that the opposition made by some of themselves more malignantly set against these courses, hath kept them from any present setling downe: and surely this opposition is a speciall finger of *Satan* resisting these budding beginnings; for what more hopefull way of doing them good then by cohabitation in such Townes, neare unto good examples, and such as may be continually whetting upon them, and dropping into them of the things of God? what greater meanes at least to civilize them? as is evident in the *Cusco* and *Mexico Indians*, more civill then any else in this vast Continent that wee know of, who were reduced by the politick principles of the two great conquering Princes of those Countries after their long and tedious wars, from these wild and wandring course of life, unto a setling into particular Townes and Cities: but I forbear, only to confirme the truth of these things, I have sent you the orders agreed on at *Concord* by the *Indians*, under the hand of two faithfull witnesses, who could testifie more, if need were, of these matters: I have sent you their [p. 4.] owne Copy and their own hands to it, which I have here inserted.

Conclusions and Orders made and agreed upon by divers Sachims and other principall men amongst the Indians at Concord, *in the end of the eleventh moneth, An.* 1646.

1. THat every one that shall abuse themselves with wine or strong liquors, shall pay for every time so abusing themselves, 20 *s.*
2. That there shall be no more *Pawwowing* amongst the *Indians*. And if any shall hereafter * *Pawwow*, both he that shall *Powwow*, & he that shall procure him to *Powwow*, shall pay 20 *s.* apeece.

* Pawwows are Witches or Sorcerers that cure by help of the devill.

3. They doe desire that they may be stirred up to seek after God.
4. They desire they may understand the wiles of Satan, and grow out of love with his suggestions, and temptations.
5. That they may fall upon some better course to improve their time, then formerly.
6. That they may be brought to the sight of the sinne of lying, and whosoever shall be found faulty herein shall pay for the first offence 5 *s.* the second 10 *s.* the third 20 *s.*
7. Whosoever shall steale any thing from another, shall restore fourfold.
8. They desire that no *Indian* hereafter shall have any more but one wife.
9. They desire to prevent falling out of *Indians* one with another, and that they may live quietly one by another.

10. That they may labour after humility, and not be proud.
11. That when *Indians* doe wrong one to another, they may be lyable to censure by *fine* or the like, as the *English* are.
12. That they pay their debts to the *English*.
13. That they doe observe the Lords-Day, and whosoever shall prophane it shall pay 20*s*.
14. That there shall not be allowance to *pick Lice*, as formerly, and eate them, and whosoever shall offend in this case shall pay for every louse a penny. [p. 5.]
15. They will weare their *haire* comely, as the *English* do, and whosoever shall offend herein shall pay 5 *s*.
16. They intend to reforme themselves, in their former greasing themselves, under the Penalty of 5 *s*. for every default.

A Wigwam is such a dwelling house as they live in.

17. They doe all resolve to set up prayer in their *wigwams*, and to seek to God both before and after meate.
18. If any commit the sinne of fornication, being single persons, the man shall pay 20 *s*. and the woman 10 *s*.
19. If any man lie with a beast he shall die.
20. Whosoever shall play at their former games shall pay 10 *s*.
21. Whosoever shall commit adultery shall be put to death.
22. Wilfull murder shall be punished with death.
23. They shall not disguise themselves in their mournings, as formerly, nor shall they keep a great noyse by howling.
24. The old Ceremony of the Maide walking alone and living apart so many dayes 20 *s*.

* A Canooe is a small Boate.

25. No *Indian* shall take an English mans * *Canooe* without leave under the penaltie of 5 *s*.
26. No *Indian* shall come into any *English* mans house except he first knock: and this they expect from the *English*.
27. Whosoever beats his wife shall pay 20 *s*.
28. If any *Indian* shall fall out with, and beate another *Indian*, he shall pay 20 *s*.
29. They desire they may bee a towne, and either to dwell on this side the *Beare Swamp*, or at the east side of Mr. *Flints Pond*.

Immediately after these things were agreed upon, most of the *Indians* of these parts, set up Prayer morning and evening in their families, and before and after meat. They also generally cut their haire, and were more civill in their carriage to the *English* then formerly. And they doe manifest a great willingnesse to conform themselves to the civill fashions of the *English*. The Lords day they keepe a day of rest, and minister what edification they can to one another. These former orders were put into this forme by Captaine *Simond Willard* of *Concord*, whom the *Indians* with unanimous consent intreated to bee their Recorder, being very soli-

citous that what they did agree upon might be faithfully preserved without alteration.

Thomas Flint. Simon Willard.

[p. 6.] These things thus wrought in a short time about *Concord* side, I looke upon as fruits of the ministery of the Word; for although their high esteem bred lately in them, especially the chief and best of the *English*, together with that mean esteem many of them have of themselves, and therefore will call themselves sometimes *poore Creatures*, when they see and heare of their great distance from others of the English; I say, although these things may be some causes of making these orders and walking in these courses, yet the chiefe cause seemes to bee the power of the Word, which hath been the chiefe cause of these Orders, and therefore it is that untill now of late they never so much as thought of any of these things.

I am not able to acquaint you very much from my owne eye and eare witnesse of things, for you know the neare relation between me and the fire side usually all winter time, onely I shall impart two or three things more of what I have heard and seen, and the rest I shall relate to you as I have received from faithfull witnesses, who testifie nothing to me by their writings, but what is seene in the open Sun, and done in the view of all the world, and generally known to be true of people abiding in these parts wee live in.

As soone as ever the fiercenesse of the winter was past, March. 3. 1647. I went out to *Noonanetum* to the *Indian* Lecture, where Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Allen*, of *Dedham*, Mr. *Dunster*, beside many other Christians were present; on which day perceiving divers of the *Indian* women well affected, and considering that their soules might stand in need of answer to their scruples as well as the mens; & yet because we knew how unfit it was for women so much as to aske questions publiquely immediatly by themselves; wee did therefore desire them to propound any questions they would bee resolved about by first acquainting either their Husbands, or the Interpreter privately therewith: whereupon we heard two questions thus orderly propounded; which because they are the first that ever were propounded by *Indian* women in such an ordinance that ever wee heard of, and because they may bee otherwise usefull, I shall therefore set them downe.

The first question was propounded by the wife of one *Wampooas* a well affected *Indian*, *viz.* "Whether (said she) do I pray "when [p. 7.] my husband prayes if I speak nothing as he doth, "yet if I like what he saith, and my heart goes with it? (for the *Indians* will many times pray with their wives, and with their children also sometime in the fields) shee therefore fearing lest prayer should onely be an externall action of the lips, enquired if it might not be also an inward action of the heart, if she liked of what he said.

The second question was propounded by the Wife of one *Tother-swampe*, her meaning in her question (as wee all perceived) was this, *viz.* "Whether a husband should do well to pray with his wife, and "yet continue in his passions, & be angry with his wife? But the modesty and wisdome of the woman directed her to doe three things in one, for thus shee spake to us, *viz.* "Before my husband did pray "hee was much angry and froward, but since hee hath begun to "pray hee was not angry so much, but little angry: wherein first shee gave an honorable testimony of her husband and commended him for the abatement of his passion; secondly, shee gave implicitly a secret reproofe for what was past, and for somewhat at present that was amisse; and thirdly, it was intended by her as a question whether her husband should pray to God, and yet continue in some unruly passions; but she wisely avoyded that, lest it might reflect too much upon him, although wee desired her to expresse if that was not her meaning.

At this time (beside these questions) there were sundry others propounded of very good use, in all which we saw the Lord Jesus leading them to make narrow inquiries into the things of God, that so they might see the reality of them. I have heard few Christians when they begin to looke toward God, make more searching questions that they might see things really, and not onely have a notion of them: I forbeare to mention any of them, because I forget the chiefe of them; onely this wee tooke notice of at this dayes meeting, that there was an aged *Indian* who proposed his complaint in propounding his question concerning an unruly disobedient son, and "what one should do with him in case of obstinacy and disobedience, "and that will not heare Gods Word, though his Father command "him, nor will not forsake his drunkennesse, though his father for-"bid him? Unto which there were many answers to set forth the sinne of disobedience [p. 8.] to parents; which were the more quickned and sharpned because wee knew that this rebellious sonne whom the old man meant, was by Gods providence present at this Lecture: Mr. *Wilson* was much inlarged, and spake so terribly, yet so graciously as might have affected a heart not quite shut up, which this young *desperado* hearing (who well understood the *English* tongue) instead of humbling himself before the Lords Word, which touched his conscience and condition so neare, hee was filled with a spirit of Satan, and as soone as ever Mr. *Wilsons* speech was ended hee brake out into a loud contemptuous expression; *So*, saith he: which we passed by without speaking againe, leaving the Word with him, which we knew would one day take its effect one way or other upon him.

The latter end of this yeare Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Eliot*, and my selfe were sent for by those in *Yarmouth* to meet with some other Elders of *Plimouth pattent*, to heare and heale (if it were the will of Christ)

the difference and sad breaches which have been too long a time among them, wherein the Lord was very merciſull to us and them in binding them up beyond our thoughts in a very short time, in giving not only that bruised Church but the whole Towne also a hopefull beginning of setled peace and future quietnesse ; but Mr. *Eliot* as hee takes all other advantages of time, so hee tooke this, of speaking with, and preaching to the poore *Indians* in these remote places about *Cape Cod*: in which journey I shall acquaint you with what all of us observed.

Wee first found these *Indians* (not very farre from ours) to understand (but with much difficulty) the usuall language of those in our parts, partly in regard of the different dialect which generally varies in 40. or 60. miles, and partly and especially in regard of their not being accustomed unto sacred language about the holy things of God, wherein Mr. *Eliot* excells any other of the *English*, that in the *Indian* language about common matters excell him: I say therefore although they did with much difficulty understand him, yet they did understand him, although by many circumlocutions and variations of speech and the helpe of one or two Interpreters which were then present.

Secondly, wee observed much opposition against him, and hearing of him at the day appointed, especially by one of the chiefest [p. 9.] *Sachims* in those parts, a man of a fierce, strong and furious spirit whom the *English* therefore called by the name *Jehu*: who although before the day appointed for preaching, promised very faire that he would come and bring his men with him; yet that very morning when they were to bee present, he sends out almost all his men to Sea, pretending fishing, and therefore although at last he came late himselfe to the Sermon, yet his men were absent, and when he came himself, would not seem to understand any thing, although hee did understand as some of the *Indians* themselves then told us, when Mr. *Eliot* by himself and by them inquired of him if he understood what was spoken: yet he continued hearing what was said with a dogged looke and a discontented countenance.

Thirdly, notwithstanding this opposition wee found another *Sachim* then present willing to learne, and divers of his men attentive and knowing what was said: and in the time which is usually set apart for propounding questions, an aged *Indian* told us openly, "That "these very things which Mr. *Eliot* had taught them as the Com- "mandements of God, and concerning God, and the making of the "world by one God, that they had heard some old men who were "now dead, to say the same things, since whose death there hath "been no remembrance or knowledge of them among the *Indians* "untill now they heare of them againe. Which when I heard solemnly spoken, I could not tell how those old *Indians* should attaine to such knowledge, unlesse perhaps by means of the *French*

Preacher cast upon those coasts many yeers since, by whose ministry they might possibly reape and retaine some knowledge of those things; this also I hear by a godly and able Christian who hath much converse with them; that many of them have this apprehension now stirring among them, *viz.* "That their forefathers did "know God, but that after this, they fell into a great sleep, and when "they did awaken they quite forgot him, (for under such metaphoricall language they usually expresse what eminent things they meane:) so that it may seem to be the day of the Lords gracious visitation of these poore Natives, which is just as it is with all other people, when they are most low, the wheele then turnes, and the Lord remembers to have mercy. [p. 10.]

Fourthly, a fourth and last observation wee took, was the story of an *Indian* in those parts, telling us of his dreame many yeers since, which he told us of openly before many witnesses when we sate at meat: the dreame is this, hee said "That about two yeers before "the *English* came over into those parts there was a great mortality "among the *Indians*, and one night he could not sleep above half "the night, after which hee fell into a dream, in which he did think "he saw a great many men come to those parts in cloths, just as the "*English* now are apparelled, and among them there arose up a "man all in black, with a thing in his hand which hee now sees was "all one *English* mans book; this black man he said stood upon a "higher place then all the rest, and on the one side of him were the "*English*, on the other a great number of *Indians*: this man told "all the *Indians* that God was *moosquantum* or angry with them, "and that he would kill them for their sinnes, whereupon he said "himself stood up, and desired to know of the black man what God "would do with him and his *Squaw* and *Papooses*, but the black "man would not answer him a first time, nor yet a second time, "untill he desired the third time, and then he smil'd upon him, and "told him that he and his *Papooses* should be safe, and that God "would give unto them *Mitcheu*, *(i. e.)* victualls and other good "things, and so hee awakened. What similitude this dream hath with the truth accomplished, you may easily see. I attribute little to dreams, yet God may speak to such by them rather then to those who have a more sure Word to direct and warn them, yet this dream made us think surely this *Indian* will regard the black man now come among them rather then any others of them: but whether Satan, or fear, and guilt, or world prevailed, we cannot say, but this is certaine, that he withdrew from the Sermon, and although hee came at the latter end of it, as hoping it had been done, yet we could not perswade him then to stay and hear, but away he flung, and we saw him no more till next day.

From this third of *March* untill the latter end of this Summer I could not be present at the *Indian* Lectures, but when I came this

last time, I marvailed to see so many *Indian* men, women and children in *English* apparell, they being at *Noonanetum* generally clad, especially upon Lecture dayes, which they have got [p. 11.] partly by gift from the *English*, and partly by their own labours, by which some of them have very handsomely apparelled themselves, & you would scarce know them from *English* people. There is one thing more which I would acquaint you with, which hapned this Summer, *viz. June* 9. the first day of the Synods meeting at *Cambridge*, where the forenoon was spent in hearing a Sermon preached by one of the *Elders* as a preparative to the worke of the Synod, the afternoon was spent in hearing an *Indian* Lecture where there was a great confluence of *Indians* [from] all parts to heare Mr. *Eliot*, which we conceived not unseasonable at such a time, partly that the reports of Gods worke begun among them, might be seen and beleeved of the chief who were then sent and met from all the Churches of Christ in the Countrey, who could hardly beleeve the reports they had received concerning these new stirs among the *Indians*, and partly hereby to raise up a greater spirit of prayer for the carrying on of the work begun upon the *Indians*, among all the Churches and servants of the Lord Jesus: The Sermon was spent in shewing them their miserable condition without Christ, out of *Ephes.* 2. 1. that they were dead in trespasses and sinnes, and in pointing unto them the Lord Jesus, who onely could quicken them.

When the Sermon was done, there was a convenient space of time spent in hearing those questions which the *Indians* publikely propounded, and in giving answers to them; one question was, *What Countrey man Christ was, and where he was borne?*

Another was, *How farre off that place was from us here?*

Another was, *Where Christ now was?*

And another, *How they might lay hold on him, and where, being now absent from them?* with some other to this purpose; which received full answers from severall hands. But that which I note is this, that their gracious attention to the Word, the affections and mournings of some of them under it, their sober propounding of divers spirituall questions, their aptnesse to understand and beleeve what was replyed to them, the readinesse of divers poore naked children to answer openly the chief questions in Catechism which were formerly taught them, and such like appearances of a great change upon them, did marvellously affect all the wise and godly Ministers, Magistrates, & people, and did [p. 12.] raise their hearts up to great thankfulnesse to God; very many deeply and abundantly mourning for joy to see such a blessed day, and the Lord Jesus so much known and spoken of among such as never heard of him before: So that if any in *England* doubt of the truth of what was formerly writ, or if any malignant eye shall question and vilifie this work, they will now speak too late, for what was here done at *Cambridge* was not

set under a Bushell, but in the open Sunne, that what *Thomas* would not beleeve by the reports of others, he might be forced to beleeve, by seeing with his own eyes and feeling Christ Jesus thus risen among them with his own hands.

I have done with what I have observed my self; I shall therefore proceed to give you a true relation of what I have heard from others, and many faithfull witnesses have seene: and first I shall speake a little more of the old man who is mentioned in the story now in print; this old man hath much affection stirred up by the Word, and comming to Mr. *Eliots* house (for of him I had this story) Mr. *Eliot* told him that because he brought his wife & all his children constantly to the Lecture, that he would therefore bestow some Cloths upon him, (it being now winter & the old man naked:) which promise he not certainly understanding the meaning of, asked therefore of another *Indian* (who is Mr. *Eliots* servant and very hopefull) what it was that Mr. *Eliot* promised him? he told him that hee said hee would give him some Cloths; which when hee understood, hee affectionately brake out into these expressions, *God I see is mercifull*: a blessed, because a plain hearted affectionate speech, and worthy *English* mens thoughts when they put on their Cloths; to thinke that a poor blind *Indian* that scarce ever heard of God before, that he should see not only God in his Cloths, but mercy also in a promise of a cast off worne sute of Cloths, which were then given him, and which now he daily weares. But to proceed;

This same old man, (as I think a little before hee had these Cloths) after an *Indian* Lecture, when they usually come to propound questions; instead of asking a question, began to speak to the rest of the *Indians*, and brake out into many expressions of wondring at Gods goodnesse unto them, that the Lord should at last look upon them and send his Word as a light unto them [p. 13.] that had been in darknesse and such grosse ignorance so long; me wonder (saith he) at God that he should thus deale with us. This speech expressed in many words in the *Indian* Language, and with strong actings of his eyes and hands, being interpreted afterward to the *English*, did much also affect all of them that were present this Lecture also.

There were this winter many other questions propounded, which were writ down by Mr. *Edward Jackson* one of our Town, constantly present at these Lectures, to take notes both of the questions made by the *Indians* and returned by Mr. *Eliot* to them; this man having sent me in his notes, I shall send you a tast of some of them.

1 *Why some men were so bad, that they hate those men that would teach them good things?*

2 *Whether the devill or man were made first?*

3 *Whether if a father prayes to God to teach his sons to know him, and he doth teach them himself and they will not learn to know*

God, what should such fathers doe? (this was propounded by an old man that had rude children.)

4 A * *Squaw* propounded this question, *Whether she might not go & pray in some private place in the woods, when her husband was not at home, because she was ashamed to pray in the Wigwam before company?*

* Indian woman.

5 *How may one know wicked men, who are good and who are bad?*

6 *To what Nation Jesus Christ came first unto, and when?*

7 *If a man should be inclosed in Iron a foot thick and thrown into the fire, what would become of his soule, whether could the soule come forth thence or not?*

8 *Why did not God give all men good hearts that they might bee good?*

9 *If one should be taken among strange Indians that know not God, and they would make him to fight against some that he should not, and he refuse, and for his refusall they kill him, what would become of his soule in such a case?* This was propounded by a * stout fellow who was affected.

* They hold that all their stout and valiant men have a reward after death.

10 *How long it is before men beleeve that have the Word of God made known to them?*

11 *How they should know when their faith is good, and their prayers good prayers?* [p. 14.]

12 *Why did not God kill the Devill that made all men so bad, God having all power?*

13 *If we be made weak by sinne in our hearts, how can we come before God to sanctifie a Sabbath?*

There were many more questions of this kind, as also many Philosophicall about the Sunne, Moon, Stars, Earth and Seas, Thunder, Lightning, Earthquakes, &c. which I forbear to make mention of, lest I should clog your time with reading, together with the various answers to them: by these you may perceive in what streame their minds are carried, and that the Lord Jesus hath at last an enquiring people among these poor naked men, that formerly never so much as thought of him; which questionings and enquiries are accounted of by some as part of the whitenings of the harvest toward, wherever they are found among any people, the good and benefit that comes to them hereby is and will be exceeding great.

We had this year a malignant drunken *Indian*, that (to cast some reproach, as wee feared, upon this way) boldly propounded this question, Mr. *Eliot* (said he) *Who made Sack? who made Sack?* but he was soon snib'd by the other *Indians*, calling it *a *Papoose* question, and seriously and gravely answered (not so much to his question, as to his spirit) by Mr. *Eliot*, which hath cooled his boldnesse ever since,

* That is a childish question.

while others have gone on comfortably in this profitable and pleasant way.

The man who sent me these and the like questions with their severall answers in writing, concluded his letter with this story, which I shall here insert, that you may see the more of God among these poore people: "Upon the 25. of *Aprill* last (saith he) "I had some occasion to go to speak with * *Wabun* "about Sun-rising in the morning, and staying some half "an hours time, as I came back by one of the *Wigwams*, the man "of that *Wigwam* was at prayer; at which I was so much affected, "that I could not but stand under a Tree within hearing, though I "could not understand but little of his words, and consider that God "was fulfilling his Word, *viz. The ends of the earth shall remember "themselves and turne unto him*; and that Scripture, *Thou art the "God that hearest prayer, unto thee shall all flesh come.*

* An Indian Sachim.

"Also this present *September* I have observed one of them to "[p. 15.] call his children to him from their gathering of Corne in "the field, and to crave a blessing, with much affection, having but "a homely dinner to eate.

These things me thinkes should move bowels, and awaken *English* hearts to be thankfull, it is no small part of Religion to awaken with God in family prayer, (as it seemes these doe it early) and to crave a blessing with affectionate hearts upon a homely dinner, perhaps parcht Corne or *Indian* stalks: I wish the like hearts and wayes were seen in many *English* who professe themselves Christians, and that herein and many the like excellencies they were become *Indians*, excepting that name, as he did in another case, except his bonds: and that you may see not only how farre Religion, but civility hath taken place among them, you may be pleased therefore to peruse this Court Order, which is here inserted.

The order made last Generall Court at Boston *the* 26. *of* May, 1647. *concerning the* Indians, &c.

VPon information that the *Indians* dwelling among us, and submitted to our government, being by the Ministry of the Word brought to some civility, are desirous to have a course of ordinary Judicature set up among them: It is therefore ordered by authority of this Court, that some one or more of the Magistrates, as they shall agree amongst themselves, shall once every quarter keep a Court at such place, where the *Indians* ordinarily assemble to hear the Word of God, and may then hear and determine all causes both civill and criminall, not being capitall, concerning the *Indians* only, and that the *Indian Sachims* shall have libertie to take order in the

nature of Summons or Attachments, to bring any of their own people to the said Courts, and to keep a Court of themselves, every moneth if they see occasion, to determine small causes of a civill nature, and such smaller criminall causes, as the said Magistrates shall referre to them; and the said *Sachims* shall appoint Officers to serve Warrants, and to [p. 16.] execute the Orders and Judgements of either of the said Courts, which Officers shall from time to time bee allowed by the said Magistrates in the quarter Courts or by the Governour: And that all fines to bee imposed upon any *Indian* in any of the said Courts, shall goe and bee bestowed towards the building of some meeting houses, for education of their poorer children in learning, or other publick use, by the advice of the said Magistrates and of Master *Eliot*, or of such other Elder, as shall ordinarily instruct them in the true Religion. And it is the desire of this Court, that these Magistrates and Mr. *Eliot* or such other Elders as shall attend the keeping of the said Courts will carefully indeavour to make the Indians understand our most usefull Lawes, and the principles of reason, justice and equity whereupon they are grounded, & it is desired that some care may be taken of the *Indians* on the Lords dayes.

Thus having had a desire to acquaint you with these proceedings among the *Indians*, and being desirous that you might more fully understand, especially from him who is best able to judge, I did therefore intreat my brother *Eliot* after some conference about these things, to set down under his own hand what he hath observed lately among them: which I do therefore herein send unto you in his owne hand writing as he sent it unto mee, which I think is worthy all Christian thankfull eares to heare, and wherein they may see a little of the Spirit of this man of God, whom in other respects, but especially for his unweariednesse in this work of God, going up and down among them and doing them good, I think we can never love nor honour enough.

The Letter of Mr. Eliot *to* T. S. *concerning the late work of God among the* Indians.

Deare Brother,

AT your desire I have wrote a few things touching the *Indians* which at present came to my mind, as being some of those passages which took principall impression in my heart, [p. 17.] wherein I thought I saw the Lord, and said the finger of God is here.

That which I first aymed at was to declare & deliver unto them

the Law of God, to civilize them, wch course the Lord took by *Moses*, to give the Law to that rude company because of transgression, *Gal.* 3. 19. to convince, bridle, restrain, and civilize them, and also to humble them. But when I first attempted it, they gave no heed unto it, but were weary, and rather despised what I said. A while after God stirred up in some of them a desire to come into the *English* fashions, and live after their manner, but knew not how to attain unto it, yea despaired that ever it should come to passe in their dayes, but thought that in 40. yeers more, some *Indians* would be all one *English*, and in an hundred yeers, all *Indians* here about, would so bee: which when I heard, (for some of them told me they thought so, and that some wise *Indians* said so) my heart moved within mee, abhorring that wee should sit still and let that work alone, and hoping that this motion in them was of the Lord, and that this mind in them was a preparative to imbrace the Law and Word of God; and therefore I told them that they and wee were already all one save in two things, which make the only difference betwixt them and us: First, we know, serve, and pray unto God, and they doe not: Secondly, we labour and work in building, planting, clothing our selves, &c. and they doe not: and would they but doe as wee doe in these things, they would be all one with *English* men: they said they did not know God, and therefore could not tell how to pray to him, nor serve him. I told them if they would learn to know God, I would teach them: unto which they being very willing, I then taught them (as I sundry times had indeavored afore) but never found them so forward, attentive and desirous to learn till this time, and then I told them I would come to their *Wigwams*, and teach them, their wives and children, which they seemed very glad of; and from that day forward I have not failed to doe that poore little which you know I doe.

I first began with the *Indians* of *Noonanetum*, as you know; those of *Dorchester mill* not regarding any such thing: but the better sort of them perceiving how acceptable this was to the English, both to Magistrates, and all the good people, it pleased God to step in and bow their hearts to desire to be taught to know God, [p. 18.] and pray unto him likewise, and had not I gone unto them also, and taught them when I did, they had prevented me, and desired me so to do, as I afterward heard.

The effect of the Word which appears among them, and the change that is among them is this: First, they have utterly forsaken all their *Powwaws*, and given over that diabolicall exercise, being convinced that it is quite contrary to praying unto God; yea sundry of their *Powwaws* have renounced their wicked imployment, have condemned it as evill, and resolved never to use it any more; others of them, seeing their imployment and gaines were utterly gone here, have fled to other places, where they are still entertained, and have

raised lies, slanders, and an evill report upon those that heare the Word, and pray unto God, and also upon the English that indeavour to reclaime them and instruct them, that so they might discourage others from praying unto God, for that they account as a principall signe of a good man, and call all religion by that name, praying to God; and beside they mock and scoffe at those *Indians* which pray, and blaspheme God when they pray; as this is one instance. A sober *Indian* going up into the countrey with two of his sons, did pray (as his manner was at home) and talked to them of God and Jesus Christ: but they mocked, & called one of his sons *Jehovah*, and the other *Jesus Christ*: so that they are not without opposition raised by the *Powwaws*, and other wicked *Indians*.

Againe as they have forsaken their former Religion, and manner of worship, so they doe pray unto God constantly in their families, morning and evening, and that with great affection, as hath been seen and heard by sundry that have gone to their *Wigwams* at such times; as also when they goe to meat they solemnly pray and give thanks to God, as they see the English to doe: so that that curse which God threatens to poure out upon the families that call not on his name, is through his grace, and tender mercy stayed from breaking forth against them, and when they come to English houses, they desire to be taught; and if meat bee given them, they pray and give thanks to God: and usually expresse their great joy, that they are taught to know God, and their great affection to them that teach them.

Furthermore they are carefull to instruct their children, that so when I come they might be ready to answer their Catechize, [p. 19.] which by the often repeating of it to the children, the men and women can readily answer to.

Likewise they are carefull to sanctifie the Sabbath, but at first they could not tell how to doe it, and they asked of mee how they should doe it, propounding it as a question whether they should come to the English meetings or meet among themselves; they said, if they come to the English meetings they understand nothing, or to no purpose, and if they met together among themselves, they had none that could teach them. I told them that it was not pleasing to God, nor profitable to themselves, to hear and understand nothing, nor having any that could interpret to them. Therefore I counselled them to meet together, and desire those that were the wisest and best men to pray, and then to teach the rest such things as I had taught them from Gods Word, as well as they could; and when one hath done, then let another do the like, and then a third, and when that was done aske questions, and if they could not answer them, then remember to aske me, &c. and to pray unto God to help them therein: and this is the manner how they spend their Sabbaths.

They are also strict against any prophanation of the Sabbath, by working, fishing, hunting, &c. and have a Law to punish such as are

delinquents therein by a fine of 10*s.* and sundry cases they have had, wherein they have very strictly prosecuted such as have any way prophaned the Sabbath. As for example, upon a Sabbath morning *Cutchamaquin* the *Sachim* his wife going to fetch water met with other women, and she began to talk of worldly matters, and so held on their discourse a while, which evill came to *Nabantons* eare, who was to teach that day (this *Nabanton* is a sober good man, and a true friend to the English ever since our comming) so he bent his discourse to shew the sanctification of the Sabbath, & reproved such evils as did violate the same; & among other things worldly talk, and thereupon reproved that which he heard of that morning. After hee had done, they fell to discourse about it, and spent much time therein, hee standing to prove that it was a sinne, and she doubting of it, seeing it was early in the morning, and in private; and alledging that he was more to blame then she, because he had occasioned so much discourse in the publick meeting: but in conclusion they determined [p. 20.] to refer the case to me, and accordingly they did come to my house on the second day morning and opened all the matter, and I gave them such direction as the Lord directed me unto, according to his holy Word.

Another case was this, upon a Lords day towards night two strangers came to *Wabans Wigwam* (it being usuall with them to travaile on that day, as on any other;) and when they came in, they told him that at a place about a mile off they had chased a *Rackoone*, and he betook himself into an hollow tree, and if they would goe with them, they might fell the tree and take him: at which tidings, *Waban* being willing to be so well provided to entertain those strangers (a common practise among them, freely to entertain travailers and strangers) he sent his two servants with them, who felled the tree, and took the beast. But this act of his was an offence to the rest, who judged it a violation of the Sabbath, and moved agitation among them: but the conclusion was, it was to bee moved as a question upon the next Lecture day; which was accordingly done, and received such answer as the Lord guided unto by his Word.

Another case was this, upon a Lords day their publick meetting holding long, and somewhat late, when they came at home, in one *Wigwam* the fire was almost out, and therefore the man of the house, as he sate by the fire side took his Hatchet and split a little dry peece of wood, which they reserve on purpose for such use, and so kindled his fire, which being taken notice of, it was thought to bee such a worke as might not lawfully be done upon the Sabbath day, and therefore the case was propounded the Lecture following for their better information.

These instances may serve to shew their care of the externall observation of the Sabbath day.

In my exercise among them (as you know) wee attend foure

things, besides prayer unto God, for his presence and blessing upon all we doe.

First, I catechize the children and youth; wherein some are very ready & expert, they can readily say all the Commandements, so far as I have communicated them, and all other principles about the creation, the fall, the redemption by Christ, &c. wherein also the aged people are pretty expert, by the frequent repetition [p. 21.] thereof to the children, and are able to teach it to their children at home, and do so.

Secondly, I Preach unto them out of some texts of Scripture, wherein I study all plainnesse, and brevity, unto which many are very attentive.

Thirdly, if there be any occasion, we in the next place go to admonition and censure; unto which they submit themselves reverently, and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainnesse, and without shiftings, and excuses: I will instance in two or three particulars; this was one case, a man named *Wampoowas*, being in a passion upon some light occasion did beat his wife, which was a very great offence among them now (though in former times it was very usuall) and they had made a Law against it, and set a fine upon it; whereupon he was publikly brought forth before the Assembly, which was great that day, for our Governor and many other English were then present: the man wholly condemned himself without any excuse: and when he was asked what provocation his wife gave him? he did not in the least measure blame her but himself, and when the quality of the sinne was opened, that it was cruelty to his own body, and against Gods Commandement, and that passion was a sinne, and much aggravated by such effects, yet God was ready to pardon it in Christ, &c. he turned his face to the wall and wept, though with modest indeavor to hide it; and such was the modest, penitent, and melting behavior of the man, that it much affected all to see it in a Barbarian, and all did forgive him, onely this remained, that they executed their Law notwithstanding his repentance, and required his fine, to which he willingly submitted, and paid it.

Another case of admonition was this, *Cutshamaquin* the *Sachim* having a son of about 14. or 15. yeers old, he had bin drunk, & had behaved himself disobediently, and rebelliously against his father and mother, for which sinne they did blame him, but he despised their admonition. And before I knew of it, I did observe when I catechized him, when he should say the fift Commandement, he did not freely say, *Honor thy father*, but wholly left out *mother*, and so he did the Lecture day before, but when this sinne of his was produced, he was called forth before the Assembly, [p. 22.] and hee confessed that what was said against him was true, but hee fell to accuse his father of sundry evils, as that hee would have killed him in his anger, and that he forced him to drink Sack, and I know not

what else: which behavior wee greatly disliked, shewed him the evill of it, and Mr. *Wilson* being present laboured much with him, for hee understood the English, but all in vaine, his heart was hard and hopelesse for that time, therefore using due loving perswasions, wee did sharply admonish him of his sinne, and required him to answer further the next Lecture day, and so left him; and so stout he was, that when his father offered to pay his fine of 10 *s.* for his drunkennesse according to their Law, he would not except it at his hand. When the next day was come, and other exercises finished, I called him forth, and he willingly came, but still in the same mind as before. Then wee turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling block out of his sonnes way, by confessing his own sinnes whereby hee had given occasion of hardnesse of heart to his sonne; which thing was not suddain to him, for I had formerly in private prepared him thereunto, and hee was very willing to hearken to that counsell, because his conscience told him he was blameworthy; and accordingly he did, he confessed his maine and principall evils of his own accord: and upon this advantage I took occasion to put him upon confession of sundry other vices which I knew hee had in former times been guilty of, and all the Indians knew it likewise; and put it after this manner, Are you now sorry for your drunkennesse, filthines, false dealing, lying, &c. which sinnes you committed before you knew God? unto all which cases, he expressed himself sorrowfull, and condemned himself for them: which example of the *Sachim* was profitable for all the Indians. And when he had thus confessed his sinnes, we turned againe to his sonne and laboured with him, requiring him to confesse his sinne, and intreat God to forgive him for Christ his sake, and to confesse his offence against his father and mother, and intreat them to forgive him, but he still refused; and now the other Indians spake unto him soberly, and affectionatly, to put him on, and divers spake one after another, and some severall times. Mr. *Wilson* againe did much labour with him, and at last he did humble himself, confessed all, [p. 23.] and intreated his father to forgive him, and took him by the hand, at which his father burst forth into great weeping: hee did the same also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others; and many English being present, they fell a weeping, so that the house was filled with weeping on every side; and then we went to prayer, in all which time *Cutshamaquin* wept, in so much that when wee had done the board he stood upon was all dropped with his teares.

Another case of admonition was this, a hopefull young man who is my servant, being upon a journey, and drinking Sack at their setting forth, he drank too much, and was disguised; which when I heard I reproved him, and he humbled himself, with confession of his sinne, and teares. And the next Lecture day I called him forth before the Assembly, where he did confesse his sinne with many teares.

Before I leave this point of admonition, if I thought it would not bee two tedious to you, I would mention one particular more, where we saw the power of God awing a wicked wretch by this ordinance of admonition. It was *George* that wicked *Indian*, who as you know, at our first beginnings sought to cast aspersions upon Religion, by laying slanderous accusations against godly men, and who asked that captious question, *who made Suck?* and this fellow having kild a young Cow at your Towne, and sold it at the Colledge instead of *Moose*, covered it with many lies, insomuch as Mr. *Dunster* was loath he should be directly charged with it when we called him forth, but that wee should rather inquire. But when he was called before the Assembly, and charged with it, he had not power to deny it, but presently confessed, onely hee added one thing which wee think was an excuse; thus God hath honored this ordinance among them.

Fourthly, the last exercise, you know, we have among them, is their asking us questions, and very many they have asked, which I have forgotten, but some few that come to my present remembrance I will briefly touch.

One was *Wabbakoxets* question, who is reputed an old *Powwaw*, it was to this purpose, seeing the English had been 27. yeers (some of them) in this land, why did wee never teach them to know [p. 24.] God till now? had you done it sooner, said hee, wee might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now some of us are grown old in sin, *&c.* To whom we answered, that we doe repent that wee did not long agoe, as now we doe, yet withall wee told them, that they were never willing to hear till now, and that seeing God hath bowed their hearts to be willing to hear, we are desirous to take all the paines we can now to teach them.

Another question was, that of *Cutshamaquin*, to this purpose, Before I knew God, said he, I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinfull then ever it was before, and this hath been a great trouble to mee; and at this day my heart is but very little better then it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad againe as it was before, and therefore I sometime wish I might die before I be so bad again as I have been. Now my question is, whether is this a sin or not? This question could not be learned from the English, nor did it seem a coyned feigned thing, but a reall matter gathered from the experience of his own heart, and from an inward observation of himself.

Another question was about their children, Whither their little children goe when they dye, seeing they have not sinned?

Which question gave occasion more fully to teach them originall sin, and the damned state of all men: And also, and especially it gave occasion to teach them the Covenant of God, which he hath made with all his people, and with their children, so that when God

chooses a man or a woman to be his servant, he chooses all their children to be so also: which doctrin was exceeding gratefull unto them.

Another great question was this, when I preached out of 1 *Cor.* 6. 9, 10, 11. old Mr. *Brown*, being present, observed them to be much affected, and one especially did weep very much, though covered it what hee could; and after that there was a generall question, which they sent unto mee about, by my man, as the question of them all, *Whether any of them should goe to Heaven, seeing they found their hearts full of sinne, and especially full of the sinne of lust*, which they call *nanwunwudsquas*, that is, mad after women; and the next meeting, being at *Dorchester mill*, Mr. *Mather* and Mr. [p. 25.] *Wareham*, with divers others being present, they did there propound it, expressing their feares, *that none of them should bee saved*; which question did draw forth my heart to preach and presse the promise of pardon to all that were weary and sick of sinne, if they did beleeve in Christ who had died for us, and satisfied the justice of God for all our sinnes, and through whom God is well pleased with all such repenting sinners that come to Christ, and beleeve in him; and the next day I took that Text, *Matth.* 11. 28, 29. and this doctrin some of them in a speciall manner did receive in a very reverent manner.

There is another great question that hath been severall times propounded, and much sticks with such as begin to pray, namely, *If they leave off* Powwawing, *and pray to God, what shall they do when they are sick?* for they have no skill in physick, though some of them understand the vertues of sundry things, yet the state of mans body, and skill to apply them they have not: but all the refuge they have and relie upon in time of sicknesse is their *Powwaws*, who by antick, foolish and irrationall conceits delude the poore people; so that it is a very needfull thing to informe them in the use of Physick, and a most effectuall meanes to take them off from their *Powwawing*. Some of the wiser sort I have stirred up to get this skill; I have shewed them the anatomy of man's body, and some generall principles of Physick, which is very acceptable to them, but they are so extreamely ignorant, that these things must rather be taught by sight, sense, and experience then by precepts, and rules of art; and therefore I have had many thoughts in my heart, that it were a singular good work, if the Lord would stirre up the hearts of some or other of his people in England to give some maintenance toward some Schoole or Collegiate exercise this way, wherein there should be Anatomies and other instructions that way, and where there might be some recompence given to any that should bring in any vegetable or other thing that is vertuous in the way of Physick; by this means we should soon have all these things which they know, and others of our Countreymen that are skilfull that way, and now their skill lies

buried for want of incouragement, would be a searching and trying to find out the vertues of things in this countrey, which doubtlesse are many, and would not a [p. 26.] little conduce to the benefit of the people of this Countrey, and it may bee of our native Countrey also; by this meanes wee should traine up these poore *Indians* in that skill which would confound and root out their *Powwaws*, and then would they be farre more easily inclined to leave those wayes, and pray unto God, whose gift Physick is, and whose blessing must make it effectuall.

There is also another reason which moves my thought and desires this way, namely that our young Students in Physick may be trained up better then yet they bee, who have onely theoreticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practise before ever they saw an Anatomy made, or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one Anatomy in the Countrey, which Mr. *Giles Firman* (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now.

This very day that I wrote these things unto you, I have been with the *Indians* to teach them, as I was wont to doe, and one of their questions among many other was to know what to say to such *Indians* as oppose their praying to God, and beleeving in Jesus Christ, and for their own information also, What get you, say they, by praying to God, and beleeving in Jesus Christ? you goe naked still, and you are as poore as wee, and our Corne is as good as yours, and wee take more pleasure then you; did we see that you got any thing by it, wee would pray to God and beleeve in Jesus Christ also as you doe? Unto which question I then answered them. First, God giveth unto us two sorts of good things, one sort are little ones, which I shewed by my little finger; the other sort are great ones, which I shewed by my thumbe, (for you know they use and delight in demonstrations:) the little mercies are riches, as cloths, food, sack, houses, cattle, and pleasures, these are little things which serve but for our bodies a little while in this life; the great mercies are wisdome, the knowledge of God, Christ, eternall life, repentance, faith, these are mercies for the soule, and for eternall life: now though God do not yet give you the little mercies, he giveth you that which is a great deale better, which the wicked *Indians* cannot see. And this I proved to them by this example; when *Foxun* the *Mohegan* Counseller, who is counted the wisest *Indian* in the Country, [p. 27.] was in the *Bay*, I did on purpose bring him unto you; and when he was here, you saw he was a foole in comparison of you, for you could speak of God and Christ, and heaven and repentance and faith, but he sate and had not one word to say, unlesse you talked of such poor things as hunting, wars, &c. Secondly, you have some more cloths then they, and the reason why you have no more is because you have but a little wisdome, if

you were more wise to know God, and obey his Commands, you would work more then you do, for so God commandeth, *Six dayes thou shalt work, &c.* and thus the English do: and if you would bee so wise as to worke as they do, you should have cloths, houses, cattle, riches as they have, God would give you them.

This day they told me this news, that some of them having been abroad in the Country at *Titacut*, divers of those *Indians* would be glad to know God, and to pray unto God, and would be glad if I would come and teach them, but some of them opposed and would not. They askt me this day, why God made the Rainbow. These things are now fresh in my mind, that makes me so large in them, but I'le forbeare any more of their questions of this nature.

There do sundry times fall out differences among them, and they usually bring their cases to me, and sometime such, as it's needfull for me to decline; where I may, I advise them to some issue. One great case that hath come severall times to mee, is about such debts as they owe by gaming, for they have been great gamesters, but have moved questions about it, and are informed of the unlawfulnesse of it, and have thereupon wholly given over gaming for any wagers, and all games wherein is a lot, onely use lawfull recreations, and have a Law against unlawfull gaming; but other *Indians* that are of another mind, come and challenge their old debts, and now they refuse to pay, because it was a sinne so to game, and they now pray to God, and therefore must not pay such sinfull debts. Now the case being serious, and such as I saw a snare underneath, the first counsaile they had was, who ever would challenge such a debt should come to our Governor, and he would take order to rectifie the matter. But the Creditors liked not that way, and therefore soon after there came another case of the same kinde, and an issue was very necessary; [p. 28.] therefore I first dealt with the creditor, and shewed him the sinfulnesse of such games, and how angry God was at them; and therefore perswaded him to be content to take half his debt, unto which he very willingly condescended; then I dealt with the debtor, and askt him if he did not promise to pay him all that debt? and he answered yea, he did so; then I shewed him that God commands us to performe our promises, and though he sinned in gaming, he must repent of that, but seeing he hath promised payment, he should sin to break his promise: at which he was utterly silenced; but then I asked him, if hee would willingly pay half, if I should perswade the other to accept it; yea said hee very willingly, and so the matter ended: and in this way they usually end such cases since that time. Their young men, who of all the rest, live most idlely and dissolutely, now begin to goe to service, some to *Indians*, some to *English*; and some of them growing weary, broak out of their services, and they had no help among them for it; so that some propounded what they should doe to remedy that evill; they were

answered, that the English bring such servants to the Court, and our Magistrates rectifie those evills; then they desired that they might have a Court among them for government, at which motion wee rejoyced, seeing it came from themselves, and tended so much to civilize them, since which time I moved the Generall Court in it, and they have pleased to order a way for exercising government among them: the good Lord prosper and blesse it.

They moved also as you know for a School, and through Gods mercy a course is now taken that there be Schooles at both places where their children are taught.

You know likewise that wee exhorted them to fence their ground with ditches, stone walls, upon the banks, and promised to helpe them with Shovels, Spades, Mattocks, Crows of Iron; and they are very desirous to follow that counsell, and call upon me to help them with tooles faster then I can get them, though I have now bought pretty store, and they (I hope) are at work. The women are desirous to learn to spin, and I have procured Wheels for sundry of them, and they can spin pretty well. They begin to grow industrious, and find something to sell at Market all the yeer long: all winter they sell Brooms, Staves, Elepots, [p. 29.] Baskets, Turkies. In the Spring, Craneberies, Fish, Stawberies; in the Summer Hurtleberries, Grapes, Fish: in the Autumn they sell Craneberries, Fish, Venison, &c. and they find a good benefit by the Market, and grow more and more to make use thereof; besides sundry of them work with the English in Hay time, and Harvest, but yet it's not comparable to what they might do, if they were industrious, and old boughs must be bent a little at once; if we can set the young twiggs in a better bent, it will bee Gods mercy. Deare brother I can go no further, a weary body, and sleepy eyes command me to conclude, if I have not satisfied your desire in this little I have wrote, let me understand it from you, and I shall be willing to do my indeavour: and thus with my deare love remembred to your self and your beloved yoakfellow, and desiring your prayers for Gods grace and blessing upon my spirit and poor indeavours, I take leave at this time and rest

Roxbury this 24. of *Septemb.* 1647.

Your loving brother in our Saviour Christ,

John Eliot.

Let me adde this Postscript, that there be two reasons that make me beleeve the Lords time is come to make a preparative at least for the comming of his grace, and kingdome among them. First, that he hath bowed their hearts, who were as averse, and as farre off from God, as any heathen in the world; and their hearts begin to bow more and more. Secondly, because the Lord hath raised a mighty spirit of prayer in this behalfe in all the Churches.

This Relation of Mr. *Eliots* I know many things therein to be true, & all the rest I have heard confirmed by credible persons, eye & eare witnesses of these things, and they are familiarly known in these parts. I know also that Mr. *Eliot* writes (as his spirit is) modestly and sparingly, and speaks the least in sundry particulars; for in his story of the repentance and publike admonition of his own man, page 23. hee saith he manifested many teares in publike, but I heard it from many then present that there were so many, as that the dry place of the *Wigwam* where hee stood [p. 30.] was bedirtied with them, powring them out so abundantly. *Indians* are well known not to bee much subject to teares, no not when they come to feele the sorest torture, or are solemnly brought forth to die; and if the Word workes these teares, surely there is some conquering power of Christ Jesus stirring among them, which what it will end in at last, the Lord best knows. If Mr. *Brightmans* interpretation of *Daniels* prophesie be true, that *Anno* 1650. Europe will hear some of the best tidings that ever came into the world, *viz.* rumors from the Easterne Jews, which shall trouble the Turkish tyrant and shake his Pillars when they are comming to repossesse their own land, for which they will be wrastling (if my memory failes not, according to his notion) about 40. yeers; I shall hope then that these Westerne *Indians* will soon come in, and that these beginnings are but preparatives for a brighter day then we yet see among them, wherein East & West shall sing the song of the Lambe: but I have no skill in prophesies, nor do I beleeve every mans interpretation of such Scripture; but this is certain, God is at work among these; and it is not usual for the Sun to set as soon as it begins to rise, nor for the Lord Jesus to lose an inch of ground in the recovering times of his Churches peace and his own eclipsed and forgotten glory, (if these bee such times) untill hee hath won the whole field, and driven the Prince of darknesse out of it, who is but a bold usurper of the Lord Jesus inheritance, to whom are given the utmost ends of the earth. When *Charles* the Great had broken the chief power of the barbarous and fierce *Saxons* in *Germany*, he made this the onely article of peace, that they should entertain such a Gospel as good then as the degenerate Christian world could affoord, and for that end admit of a Monastery among them of such men as might instruct them, and this course prevailed, if wee may beleeve * *Crantzius* the Historian of those times; and shall wee think that when the Lord Jesus hath set up not a Monastery of workes but Churches of Saints in these coasts to encourage the ministry and this work of Christ, that his blessed Gospel cannot or shall not in these dayes take some effect since it hath broke so far? I dare conclude nothing, onely it will be our comfort in the day of our accounts, that wee have endeavored something this way; and it may be this very indeavour [p. 31.] shall be our peace. *Gildas* our

* *Crantzius lib.* 1. *ch.* 1, 2.

British Historian observing that one cause why God let loose the *Saxons* to scourge and root out the *Britaines*, was their deep carelesnesse of communicating unto them the Christian Religion, when they had their spirits at fit advantage: but I dare not discourse of these matters.

One thing more I remember concerning Mr. *Eliots* conference with a *Narraganset Sachim* a sober man this yeer; after that he had taught this *Sachim* the Law of God, and had shewen him the means of salvation by Christ; he then asked him if he did know and understand those things? and he said, yes. He then asked him if he did beleeve them? but hee could not get any answer from him that way, but did seeme to take them into more serious thoughts. He then asked him, why they did not learn of Mr. *Williams* who hath lived among them divers yeers? and he soberly answered that they did not care to learn of him, because hee is no good man but goes out and workes upon the Sabbath day; I name it not to shew what glimmerings nature may have concerning the observation of the Sabbath, but to shew what the ill example of English may doe, and to see what a stumbling block to all Religion the loose observation of the Sabbath is, however mans shifting wits may find out evasions, to get loose from out of that net.

But this may serve to satisfie your own or others desires concerning the progresse of the Gospel among the *Indians*: the Lord Jesus seemes at this day to bee turning upside down the whole frame of things in the world, Kings, Parliaments, Armies, Kingdomes, Authorities, Churches, Ministers, and if out of his free grace hee looks not upon these hopefull beginnings, these will be so turned also; for opposition there is from men and devils against it, and I have fea ed in my own heart that within these few moneths there hath been some coolings among the best of these *Indians*; but wee find it so also among many people that are *English* in their first work, but the Lord Jesus revives again; and therefore Mr. *Eliot* of late having told them that hee was afraid that they began to bee weary, they took it to heart, and propounded in my hearing at a late *Indian* Lecture at *Noonanetum* many profitable questions, viz. *When they* [p. 32.] *prayed and heard the Word aright? and how they might know when they were weary of them? And what time it might bee before the Lord might come and make them know him? And what the first sinne of the Devils was?* (Hee discoursing to them about the danger of Apostasie.) At this time they are (as you may perceive by Mr. *Eliots* writings) about fencing in their ground and Town given them some hundreds of Acres, with a stone fence, for which end Mr. *Eliot* provides them Mattocks, Shovels and Crowes of Iron, &c. and to encourage their slothfulnesse, promised to give a groat or sixpence a rod, if they would thus farre attend their own good, and work for themselves: all the poor *Indians* at *Noonanetum*

are generally clad with such cloths as wee can get them, and the *Wigwams* of the meanest of them equallize any *Sachims* in other places, being built not with mats but barks of Trees in good bignesse, the rather that they may have their partitions in them for husbands and wives togeather, and their children and servants in their places also, who formerly were never private in what nature is ashamed of, either for the sun or any man to see. It's some refreshing to thinke that there is (if there was no more but) the name of Christ sounding in those darke and despicable *Tartarian* Tents; the Lord can build them houses in time to pray in, when hee hath given unto them better hearts, and when perhaps hee hath cursed and consumed theirs who have disdained to give that worship and homage to Christ in their seiled houses, which poor *Indians* rejoyce to give to him in their poor Tents and *Wigwams*: I desire you to gather what stock of prayers you can for them. I had almost forgot to tell you of Mr. *Eliots* going up the Country lately with Mr. *Flint*, Captain *Willard* of *Concord*, and sundry others, towards *Merrimath* River unto that *Indian Sachim Passaconnaway*, that old Witch and *Powwaw*, who together with both his sons, fled the presence of the light, and durst not stand their ground, nor be at home when he came, pretending feare of being killed by a man forsooth that came only with a book in his hand, and with a few others without any weapons only to bear him company and direct his way in those deserts; but in it you may see the guilt of the man, & that *Satan* is but a coward in his *Lyons* skin even upon his own dunghill, as also the hatred and [p. 33.] enmity against the Word which is in some, which argues that the attention which others give to it, is a power of God, and not meerly to flatter and get favour with the English: but the rest of *Passaconnawaies* men attended to the things which were spoken and asked divers questions, the *Indians* in our parts accompanying Mr. *Eliot* and giving blessed examples to the others herein, as also in saying Grace before and after meat, praying in their *Wigwams* with them, and some of them singing of Psalmes, which they have learnt among the English: discoursing also with them about the things of God. It is somewhat observable (though the observation bee more cheerfull then deep) that the first Text out of which Mr. *Eliot* preached to the *Indians* was about the dry bones, *Ezek.* 37. where it's said, *Vers.* 9, 10. *that by prophesying to the wind, the wind came and the dry bones lived*; now the *Indian* word for Wind is *Waubon*, and the most active *Indian* for stirring up other *Indians* to seek after the knowledg of God in these parts, his name is *Waubon*, which signifies Wind, (the *Indians* giving names to their children usually according to appearances of providences) although they never dreamt of this, that this their *Waubon* should breathe such a spirit of life and incouragement into the rest of the *Indians*, as hee hath indeavored in all parts of the Countrey, both at *Concord*, *Merrimeck* and

elsewhere ; but some of the *Indians* themselves that were stir'd up by him took notice of this his name and that Scripture together, and the English also have much observed him herein, who still continues the same man, although we thinke there be now many others whom he first breathed encouragement into that do farre exceed him in the light and life of the things of God : Mr. *Eliot* also professing that he chose that Text without the least thought of any such application in respect of *Waubon*.

There have been many difficult questions propounded by them, which we have been unwilling to engage our selves in any answer unto, untill wee have the concurrence of others with us.

First, suppose a man before hee knew God, hath had two wives, the first barren and childlesse, the second fruitfull and bearing him many sweet children, the question now propounded was, *Which of these two wives he is to put away?* if hee puts away ; the first who hath no children, then hee puts away her whom God and Religion undoubtedly binds him unto, there [p. 34.] being no other defect but want of children : if hee puts away the other, then he must cast off all his children with her also as illegitimate, whom hee so exceedingly loves. This is a case now among them, and they are very fearefull to do any thing crosse to Gods will and mind herein.

Secondly, suppose a man marry a *Sqaw*, and shee deserts and flies from her husband, and commits adultery with other remote *Indians*, but afterward it come to passe that shee hearing the Word, and sorry for what shee hath done, she desires to come to her husband againe, who remaines still unmarried ; *Whether should this husband upon her repentance receive her againe? and whether is he not bound thereunto so to doe?*

At the last Lecture at *Noonanetum* this *September*, there were divers questions asked : one was propounded by an old *Sqaw*, a Widow ; viz. *If when men know God, God loves them, why then is it that any one are afflicted after that they know him?* I shall mention no more, but conclude with the solemn speech of a sober and hopefull *Indian* at this Lecture, whose name is *Wampooas*, who in stead of propounding a question fell into these expressions, viz. "That because wee pray to God, other *Indians* abroad in the coun-"trey hate us and oppose us, the English on the other side suspect "us, and feare us to be still such as doe not pray at all ; but (saith "he) God who knowes all things, he knowes that wee do pray to him. To which speech Mr. *Eliot* replyed, that it was true indeed, that some of the English did so far suspect them for sundry reasons ; but I doe not so, and others of us, who know you and speake with you, we do not so think of you ; and then gave them gracious and serious incouragements to goe forward and make more progresse in the things of God. This their own testimony of themselves being propounded with much sweetnesse and seriousnesse of affection, may be

the last, although it be the least confirmation of some inward worke among them; which I looked upon as a speciall providence that such a speech should be spoken and come to my eare just at such a time as this, wherein I was finishing the story, to confirme in some measure what hath been written; the Lord himself I beleeve and no man living, putting these words into their own hearts, to give this modest testimony concerning themselves. The beginning of this enlargement of Christs Kingdome should inlarge our hearts with [p. 35.] great joy. If I should gather and summe up together the severall gracious impressions of God upon them from what hath been scattered here and there in the story, I thinke it might make many Christians ashamed, who may easily see how farre they are exceeded by these naked men in so short a time thus wrought upon by such small and despicable means. My brother *Eliot* who is Preacher to them, professing he can as yet but stammer out some peeces of the Word of God unto them in their own tongue; but God is with him, and God is wont to be *maximus in minimis*, and is most seene in doing great things by small meanes. The Sword of Gods Word shall and will pierce deep, even when it is half broken, when the hand of a mighty Redeemer hath the laying of it on: and the Scripture herein is, and must be fulfilled, that as soon as the heathen heare Christ they shall submit, *Psal.* 18. 43, 44. and such nations whom Christ knew not shall run unto him, *Isai.* 55. 5. The fall of the unbeleving Jewes was the rising of the Gentiles; my prayer to God therefore for *Europe* is, that the fall of the Churches, (little bettered by the devouring Sword which is still thirsty) may not bee the rising of these *American* Gentiles, never pitied till now. I wish that *Alstedius* prophesie herein may never prove true; but rather that the rising of these may be a provoking and raising up of them, especially of the English, to lament after that God whom they have forsaken; and to lament after him, together with us, for these poor *Indians* who never yet knew him.

Alsted in Apoc.

Sir, I had ended these relations once or twice, but the stay of the Vessell increaseth new matter; which because 'tis new and fresh, you shall have it as I heard of it from a faithfull hand: There were sundry questions propounded at the *Indian* Lecture at *Noonanetum* this *Octob.* 13. by the *Indians*: the first was propounded to Mr. *Eliot* himself upon occasion of his Sermon out of *Ephes.* 5. 11. *Have no fellowship with unfruitfull workers of darknes*, viz. *What English men did thinke of* Mr. Eliot *because he came among wicked Indians to teach them?*

Secondly, *Suppose two men sinne, the one knowes he sinneth, and the other doth not knowe sinne, will God punish both alike?*

Thirdly, *Suppose there should be one wise Indian that teacheth good things to other Indians, whether should not he be as a father*

or brother unto [p. 36.] *such Indians he so teacheth in the wayes of God?* This last question seemes to argue some motions stirring in some of their hearts to pity and teach their poor Countreymen; and surely then will bee the most hopefull time of doing good among them, when the Lord shall raise up some or other like themselves to go among them and preach the Word of life unto them with fatherly or brotherly bowels; and yet I limit not the most High, who can make use of what Instruments hee pleaseth for this work. I shall conclude therefore with a story I had both by writing and word of mouth, from a faithfull * man which hee saw with his own eyes this *Octob.* 7. There was one of the *Indians* at *Noonanetum*, hath had a child sick of a Consumption many a day, and at that time died of it; when it was dead, some of the *Indians* came to an honest man to enquire how they should bury their dead; the man told them how and what the English did when they buried theirs; hereupon rejecting all their old superstitious observances at such sad times (which are not a few) they presently procured a few boards, and buy a few nayles of the *English*, and so make a pretty handsome Coffin, (for they are very dextrous at any thing they see once done) and put the child into it, and so accompanied it to the grave very solemnly, about 40. *Indians* of them: when the earth was cast upon it and the grave made up, they withdrew a little from that place, and went all together and assembled under a Tree in the Woods, and there they desired one *Tutaswampe* a very hopefull *Indian* to pray with them; now although the *English* do not usually meet in companies to pray together after such sad occasions, yet it seemes God stird up their hearts thus to doe; what the substance of their prayer was I cannot certainly learn, although I have heard some things that way, which I therefore name not, onely I have and shall indeavour to get it, if it bee possible for the poor *Indian* to expresse the substance of it, and so shall send it if the ship stayes long, onely this is certaine by him who was occasionally an eye and eare witnesse of these things, that they continued instant with God in prayer for almost half an houre together, and this godly mans words to mee (who understands a little of their language) are these; that this *Tutaswampe* did expresse such zeale in prayer with such variety of gracious expressions, and abundance [p. 37.] of teares, both of himself and most of the company, that the woods rang againe with their sighes and prayers; and (saith he) I was much ashamed of my self and some others, that have had so great light, and yet want such affections as they have, who have as yet so little knowledge. All this he saw standing at some good distance alone from them under a Tree.

* *Mr. Edward Iackson.*

Thus you see (Sir) that these old obdurate sinners are not altogether senselesse of Gods afflicting hand and humbling providences; and though naturall affection may be much stirring in such times, yet

you see how God begins to sanctifie such affections among them: and I wish that many English were not outstript herein by these poor *Indians*, who have got the start I feare of many *English*, that can passe by such sad providences without laying them in this manner to heart. I confesse these and many such things which wee see in divers of them, do make some to thinke that there is more of God and his Spirit in some of their hearts then we yet can discover, and which they hope will break out in time.

Thus you have a true, but somewhat rent and ragged relation of these things; it may be most sutable to the story of naked and ragged men: my desire is that no mans Spectacles may deceive him, so as to look upon these things either as bigger or lesser, better or worser then they are; which all men generally are apt to doe at things at so great distance, but that they may judge of them as indeed they are, by what truth they see here exprest in the things themselves. I know that some thinke that all this worke among them is done and acted thus by the *Indians* to please the *English*, and for applause from them; and it is not unlikely but so 'tis in many, who doe but blaze for a time; but certainly 'tis not so in all, but that the power of the Word hath taken place in some, and that inwardly and effectually, but how far savingly time will declare, and the reader may judge of, by the story it self of these things. Some say that if it be so, yet they are but a few that are thus wrought upon; Be it so, yet so it hath ever been, *many called, few chosen*: and yet withall I beleeve the calling in of a few *Indians* to Christ is the gathering home of many hundreds in one, considering what a vast distance there hath been between God and them so long, even dayes without number; considering [p. 38.] also how precious the first fruits of *America* will be to Jesus Christ, and what seeds they may be of great harvests in after times; and yet if there was no great matter seen in these of grown yeers, their children notwithstanding are of great hopes both from *English* and *Indians* themselves, who are therefore trained up to Schoole, where many are very apt to learne, and who are also able readily to answer to the questions propounded, containing the principles and grounds of all Christian Religion in their own tongue. I confesse it passeth my skill to tell how the Gospel should be generally received by these *American* Natives, considering the variety of Languages in small distances of places; onely hee that made their eares and tongues can raise up some or other to teach them how to heare, and what to spake; and if the Gospel must ride circuit, Christ can and will conquer by weake and despicable meanes, though the conquest perhaps may be somewhat long. The beginnings and foundations of the *Spaniard* in the Southerne parts of this vast continent, being laid in the blood of nineteene Millions of poor innocent Natives (as *Acosta* the Jesuite a bird of their own nest relates the story) shall certainly

therefore bee utterly rooted up by some revenging hand; and when he is once dispossest of his Golden Mansions and Silver Mines, it may be then the oppressed remnant in those coasts also may come in. In the meane while if it bee the good pleasure of Christ to look upon any of the worst and meanest of these outcasts in these Coasts of *New-England*, let us not despise this day of small things, but as the Jews did of old, so let us now cry mightily to God and say, and sing, *Let the people praise thee O God, yea let all the people praise thee, then shall the earth bring forth her increase, and God even our God will blesse us.*

I have sent you two witnesses beside my own of the truth of the Indian story printed, you may publish them if you please as they have writ, and subscrib'd with their own hands.

THOMAS SHEPHARD.

FINIS.

THE

Glorious Progress

OF THE

GOSPEL,

AMONGST THE

Indians in New England.

MANIFESTED

By three Letters, under the Hand of

that famous Instrument of the Lord Mr. JOHN ELIOT,
And another from Mr. *Thomas Mayhew* jun: both Preachers of
the Word, as well to the *English* as *Indians* in *New England.*

WHEREIN

The riches of Gods Grace in the effectuall calling of many of them is cleared up: As also a manifestation of the hungring desires of many People in sundry parts of that Country, after the more full Revelation of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, to the exceeding Consolation of every Christian Reader.

TOGETHER,

With an Appendix to the foregoing Letters, holding forth Conjectures, Observations, and Applications.
By *I. D.* Minister of the Gospell.

Published by EDWARD WINSLOW.

Mal. 1. 11. *From the rising of the Sun, even unto the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place incence shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering; for my Name shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts.*

LONDON. Printed for *Hannah Allen* in *Popes-head-Alley.* 1649.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE

Parliament of England

AND THE COUNCELL

OF STATE.

Right Honourable,

THat former Narative called, *The clear Sunshine of the Gospel, breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England*; dedicated to your Honours by divers Reverend and eminent Ministers of the Gospell in and about the City of London, found such acceptance in your House, as it begat a debate amongst your selves, how the Parliament of England might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus, to help forward such a work begun; which conduced so abundantly to the glory of God, and good of men in the salvation of their soules. And in order thereunto your Honours were pleased to refer it to the Committee of forraign Plantations, to prepare and bring in an Ordinance *for the encouragement and advancement of Learning and Piety in New England*, as appeareth by your Order March 17. 1647. This Honourable Committee with great readiness and chearfulness took it into their serious consideration, and presented the result of their mature debates to this honourable House: But so many and weighty have been the occasions and businesses of the House, that however the nature of the work and my duty (being appointed Agent though unworthy) on the behalf of New-England to this Parliament: yet

durst not presse too hard to interrupt the great affaires your Honours have been in hand withall. Nevertheles, I do now crave leave, humbly to acquaint you, that what was then judged deficient in the power granted to the Feoffees in that Ordinance, is since corrected and amended, and attendeth your Honours leisure for compleating and finishing the same.

Undoubtedly the common enemy of mans salvation hath rejoyced that this work so happily begun, hath not as yet received that countenance and encouragement from hence, which your Honours intended and resolved many months since. Nevertheles, I trust the most wise God hath turned this appearing losse into gaine, by affording your Honours and the Nation a more clear account of the reall and glorious Progres of the Gospel among those poor Indians in AMERICA, by such Intelligence I very lately received from thence under the hands of those Reverend & learned Ministers, which are principally employed in preaching the Gospel to them in their own Language. And as I am daily and earnestly called upon to publish the same, that the whole Nation may be acquainted therewith: So I took it to be my duty to present it in the first place to this honourable House, and the Councel of State; that your Honours might perceive how these poor Creatures cry out for help; Oh come unto us, teach us the knowledge of God, tarry longer with us, come and dwell amongst us, at least depart not so soon from us. And others of them whose dwellings are near the Habitations of the English, (whose hearts God hath touched) calling for and demanding a free and full participation of all the Ordinances of Jesus Christ. All which, and much more is evidently held forth in the following Narrative, which I have with all faithfulnes collected and transcribed, according as I received the same from persons that were Actors therein, and are of known Integrity.

There are two great questions Right Honourable, which have much troubled ancient and modern writers, and men of greatest depth and ability to resolve: the first,

what became of the ten Tribes of Israel, that were carried into Captivity by the King of Siria, when their own Countrey and Cities were planted and filled with strangers? The second is, what Family, Tribe, Kindred, or people it was that first planted, and afterwards filled that vast and long unknown Countrey of America? Now however I confesse questions are sooner asked then resolved; yet let me acquaint your Honors, that a godly Minister of this City writing to Rabbi-ben-Israel, a great Dr. of the Jewes, now living at Amsterdam, to know whether after all their labor, travells, and most diligent enquiry, they did yet know what was become of the ten Tribes of Israel? His answer was to this effect, if not in these words, That they were certainly transported into America, and that they had infallible tokens of their being there. Unto which if I may take the boldnesse to adde what my self, with many others in New England have observed in the practice of the Indians there, in relation to some things enjoyned in the ceremoniall Law of Moses, about the purification of weomen, which no men at this day do observe, nor beside the Jewes were ever known in that strictness to observe, as these Indians there daily do: As also if the principles of the most grave and sober amongst them, not only in reference to a Deity, the soule of man, the immortality of the soule, and an eternity after death in happines or misery; but also their manifold daily expressions, bewailing the losse of that knowledge their Ancestors had about God, and the way of his Worship; the general deluge, and of one man only that ever saw God, which they hold forth to be a long time since, (even with the greatest expression of length of time that may be) which certainly *I* believe to be *Moses*. As also if many other Circumstances well known to many, (but not fit to be at large expressed in any Epistle) be duly considered, It is not lesse probable that these Indians should come from the Stock of *Abraham*, then any other Nation this day known in the world: Especially considering the juncture of time wherein God hath opened their hearts to entertain the Gospel, being

so nigh the very years, in which many eminent and learned Divines, have from Scripture grounds, according to their apprehensions foretold the conversion of the *Jewes.* However Right Honourable, the work so communicating and encreasing the light of the Gospel is glorious in reference to *Jewes* & *Gentiles.* And as God hath set a signall marke of his presence upon your Assembly, in strengthning your hands to redeem and preserve the civill Rights of the Common-weale: so doubtlesse may it be a comfortable support to your Honours in any future difficulties, to contemplate, that as the Lord offered you (in this designe) an happy opportunity to enlarge and advance the Territories of his Sonnes Kingdom: So he hath not denyed you (as I am confident he will not) an heart to improve the same; and in as much as lies in you to make all the Nations of the Earth, the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; that so your Honours may still preserve your interest in his favour, which is and shall be the prayers of

Your Honours most humble Servant,

EDWARD WINSLOW.

THE
GLORIOUS PROGRESSE
of the Gospel amongst the *Indians* in *New-England.*

IN the year of our Lord, 1646. it seemed good to the most high God, to stirre up some reverend Ministers of the Gospel in *New-England*, to consider how they might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus, as well towards the Natives of that Countrey, (as to their owne Congregations and Churches, over which the Lord had set them) in bringing them to a right understanding of God and themselves; and so by degrees to hold forth unto them that Salvation by Jesus Christ to all that should beleeve and obey his Commands; perswading themselves, that God might have a select people amongst these Heathens, and that for that end amongst many others he had planted so many Christian Congregations so neer them. And however the *English* were not wholly negligent this way, but had in sundry parts of the Countrey long before brought divers to a pretty competency of right understanding in the mystery of salvation, who lived orderly, and dyed hopefully; yet till such time as they were more generally acquainted with our conversation amongst our selves, and with our demeanor towards them, as well in peace, as in such warres they had unavoidably drawn upon themselves; whereby they had such experience of the justice, prudence, valour, temperance, and righteousnesse of the *English*, as did not onely remove their former jealousies and feares concerning us, and convict them of their owne uneven walking; but begat a good opinion of our persons, and caused them to affect our Laws and Government. [p. 2.]

Till now (together with the want of language) we had but some few that were wrought upon; But in this acceptable year of the Lord, (being it seems the appointed season for their visitation) God having stirred up these Ministers to seek a Blessing upon their endeavours, and direct them in a right way; they found the answer of their prayers by the good acceptation they had amongst the poore *Indians* where they first went, &c. who soon became in love also with our Religion, and mightily hungred and thirsted after the Knowl-

edge of God in Christ, as was published and made apparant to this Nation by a short Treatise, called, *The day-breaking, if not the Sun-rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England.*

In the year 1647. being here upon some speciall service for the Countrey, Letters came to my hands with some Papers from Mr. *Tho. Shepard*, Pastor of the Church at *Cambridge* there, which held forth a greater warmth of heavenly heat upon their (former frozen) spirits; which I communicated to some eminent Ministers of and neere the City of *London; viz.* Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *Downham*, Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Mr. *Whitaker*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Case*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Sydrack Simpson*, Mr. *Ash*, Mr. *Greenhill*, Mr. *Carter*, and Mr. *Bolton*: And such was the esteem these reverend men had of it, as by two severall Epistles under their hands they recommended it to the Parliament of *England*, as a thing worthy their notice, care, and furtherance: And secondly, to the godly and well-affected of this Nation, who pray for, and rejoyce in the thrivings of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus. This Narrative was also published, and called, *The clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England.*

In the year 1648. our Letters miscarried many of them, in that the Ship that brought them was taken by the Prince of *Wales*, to the Countries great prejudice, as well as many other Vessels and their lading formerly; by which miscarriage I was wholly hindred from giving any further account till this instant, 1649.

And now having received some Letters, and others brought to me by divers of quality here residing at present, that appertaine to *New-England*; and being exceedingly pressed to publish them by many godly and well-affected of the City and parts adjacent, I shall by Gods help publish them all, or so many of them as concernes the *Indian* work; and if any doubt my faithfulnesse herein, (as I hope none will that know me) I shall most willingly shew them the Originalls themselves. And before I come to this years Letters, I received from Mr. [p. 3.] *Eliot*, shall begin with one came to my hands, (dated *Nov.* 16. 47.) after the last Treatise was put out. And I the rather take this course, lest the young man should be discouraged in his labours so hopefully begun; his name is Mr. *Mayhew*, who teacheth the Word both to *English* and *Indians* upon an Island called formerly *Capawack*, by us *Morthas Vineyard*, by which you may see 'tis not one Minister alone that laboureth in this great work: His Letter followeth:

SIR,

THe encouragements I met withall touching the *Indians* conversion, next unto Gods glory, and his gracious promises was, the notable reason, judgement, and capacitie that God hath given unto many of them; as also their zealous enquiring after true happinesse, together with the knowledge I had of their tongue, besides severall providences which hath advantaged my progresse therein; as for instance: Mr. Mayhews Letter from Capawack, Novemb. 18, 1647.

1. There was one *Ieogiscat* about 60. years of age, who was sick of a consuming disease, insomuch as the *Indian Pawwawes* gave him over for a dead man: Upon which resolution of all the * *Pawwawes* in the Island, the sick distressed Heathen upon a Lords day came unto mee (the rest of the *English* being then present) to desire me to pray unto God for him: And so when I had by reasoning with him convinced him of the weaknesse and wickednesse of the *Pawwaws* power; and that if health were to be found, it must be had from him that gave life, and breath, and all things; I commended this case unto the Lord, whereof he rejoyced, gave me thanks, and he speedily recovered unto his former strength. * Such as cure by devillish sorcery, and to whom the devil appeares sometimes.

2. In this present year 1647. the eldest sonne of one *Vakapanessue*, a great Sagamore of the Island, being very sick, took occasion to send for me to come unto him; and when I came unto him, I found him not more weak in body, then strong in earnest desires, that I should pray unto God for him; so I instructed him, and prayed for him: And when I had ended, of his own accord he spake these words, *Taubot mannit nuh quam Cowin. viz.* I thank thee God, I am heavy to sleep; and so I left him holding forth good affections: But shortly after he was changed altogether, [p. 4.] and contrary to the perswasion of other *Indians* of severall Townes, sought againe unto Witches. The Heathen seeing this, they forsook the * *Wigwam*, saying, We leave the house for the Devill and them that would tarry. This newes being brought me, I much mervailed thereat, yet sent him this message, *viz.* Tell *Saul*, (for the sick man was by the *English* so called) that when I was with him, I thought as then I told him, that he would live, because he sought for life unto the living God, where if any where it was to be found: But tell him now, that I think he will dye. I also added the example of *Ahaziah*, who because he had the knowledge of the great God, and sought unto an inferiour God, God was angry with him and killed him: And so for that this *Saul* was informed of the true God, and is fallen from him to the earthen gods here below; that God will kill him also; and so it shortly came to passe. * The Indians so call their houses.

3. Not long after a * *Sagamore*, called, *Towanquattick* had his eldest sonne, whose name is *Sachachanimo*, very sick of a Feaver; this young man sent for me to come unto him; and when I came, his father and himself desired me to pray for him, the which I did in their owne language, and promised to come againe unto him very shortly, if he mended not, and use some other meanes also for his recovery: When I came againe unto him, I found him very ill, asked him (together with his friends) whether they were willing I should let him blood? acquainting them that we used so to do in such cases. After some consideration, they consented thereunto, notwithstanding the *Pawwaws* had told them before, that he should dye, because he sought not unto them: so I bound his arme, and with my Pen-knife let him blood; he bled freely, but was exceeding faint, which made the Heathen very sad; but in a short time, he begun to be very cheerfull, whereat they much rejoyced, &c. So I left them, and it pleased the Lord the man was in a short time after very well.

* A Prince or Ruler amongst them.

In these providences the Lord hath manifested both mercy and judgement, and it is, that he may raise up the Tabernacle of *David* that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof, and raise up its ruines, and build it as in the dayes of old, that they may possesse the Covenant of *Edom*, and of all the Heathen which are called by my Name, saith the Lord that doth this. [p. 5.]

But I pray you take notice of a speech of *Towanquatticks* (being the Father of the young man recovered) who lamenting the losse of their knowledge said unto me, * *That a long time agon, they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowlege, but they are dead, and their wisedome is buried with them: and now men live a giddy life in ignorance till they are white headed, and though ripe in yeares, yet then they go without wisedom unto their graves.* He also told me, that *he wondred the English should be almost thirty yeers in the Country, and the Indians fools still; but he hoped that the time of knowledge was now come*; wherefore himself with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God unto them in their own tongue. And when he came to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me, that * *I should be to them, as one that stands by a running River, filling many vessels: Even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge.* So I undertook to give them a meeting once a moneth; but as soon as the first exercise was ended, they desired it oftner then I could well attend: but once a Fortnight is our setled course. This I present to your consideration, entreating you to present us unto the Lord for wisedom, to preach unto the Heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ, that so the root of *Iesse* standing

An Indian speech worthy our consideration.

The better sort of them are full of such like expressions, affecting to speak in Parables.

for an Ensigne of the people, the Gentiles may seek unto it, and his rest shall be glorious, *Amen.*

Great Harbour in the Vineyard Yours in the best Bonds
18. *of the* 9. 1647. *Tho. Mayhew, junior.*

In the next place, I shall present you with some Letters of that painfull yet unwearied Minister of the Gospel, Mr. John Eliot, *who notwithstanding his faithfull labours in teaching that Church or Congregation of the English, over which the Lord hath set him at* Roxbury *in the Government of the* Massachusets, *yet taketh all occasions, (neglecting no opportunity, whether more remote, or neere at hand) to advance the glory of God, in calling those poor heathen to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and satisfying those hungry soules by administring the bread of life unto them. And however I cannot give you his first large Letter (as he tearmes it) being sent by way of* Spaine, *and by that meanes not yet come to my hands, yet take his second in his own words, which will minister abundance of sweet consolation to every* [p. 6.] *Christian Reader, that God should in these latter times so magnifie his glorious grace in extending his everlasting mercies to those poor naked Indians. His Letter followeth.*

Worthy Sir,

YOur cordiall and faithfull endeavours, &c. I am bold now by the way of *Virginia*, to trouble you with a few lines, to expresse the thankfulnesse of my heart unto you, for that one part of your care, love, and labour in furthering this work of preaching Christ to these poor *Indians*, and declaring to them the way of eternall life and salvation; which work I blesse the Lord goeth on not without successe, beyond the ability of the Instruments: It is the Lord, the Lord only who doth speak to the hearts of men, and he can speak to theirs, and doth, (blessed be his name) so effectually, that one of them I beleeve verily is gone to the Lord; a * woman, who though she was not the first that came into the knowledge of Christ and the Gospel, yet she was the first of ripe yeares that hath dyed since I taught them the way of salvation by Jesus Christ, and the onely one. And though of the living I will not say much, yet of the dead I may freely speak; After I began to preach unto them, her husband and she did quickly come in; and after she came, she was a diligent hearer; and out of desire to live where the word of God was taught, they fetched all the corne they spent, sixteen miles upon their backs from the place of their planting: She was industrious, and did not goe about to

Mr. Eliots 2. Letter in 48. concerning the progresse of the Gospel among the Indians.

A precious testimony of an Indian woman conceived to dye a Christian.

English houses a begging, as sundry doe, (though it is well reformed now with many of them) but kept home, kept her children to labour, making baskets to sell, &c. She quickly learned to spin well (for I got some wheels, but want meanes to supply them and order them.) Her life was blamelesse after she submitted to the Gospel, and was exemplary: She was the first woman that asked a question (by another man propounded for her) which was this; *When my Husband prayeth in his house, my heart thinketh what he prayeth; whether is this praying to God aright or no?* I thought it a fit question for a woman. She dyed of a sicknesse she took in childbed: I severall times visited her, prayed with her, asked her about her spirituall estate? *She told me she still loved God, though he made her* [p. 7.] *sick, and was resolved to pray unto him so long as she lived, and to refuse powwawing.* She said also, *that she beleeved God would pardon all her sins, because she beleeved that Iesus Christ dyed for her; and that God was well pleased in him, and that she was willing to dye, and beleeved to goe to Heaven, and live happy with God and Christ there.*

It may be you may mervell at, and scarce credit such expressions: but they are the points of Catechisme which I constantly teach the Children; and the Children can very readily answer me in them; and they be truths now familiarly known by the attentive hearers, whereof she was one. And moreover of her own accord, she called her children to her, especially two up-grown daughters, which she had before she married this man, and said to them,

A precious dying speech of an Indian woman to her children.

I shall now dye, and when I am dead, your Grand-Father and Grand-mother, and Vncles, &c. will send for you to come live amongst them, and promise you great matters, and tell you what pleasant living it is among them; But doe not beleeve them, and I charge you never hearken unto them, nor live amongst them; for they pray not to God, keep not the Subbath, commit all manner of sinnes and are not punished for it: but I charge you live here, for here they pray unto God, the word of God is taught, sins are suppressed and punished by Lawes; And therefore I charge you live here all your dayes. And soon after this she dyed, and it fell out indeed as she had said, for there was earnest sending and soliciting for the maids to live with them: so that the case was propounded to me on a Lecture day; and their Father in law opposed it, not only as adjudging it evill, but because of their mothers charge; and by this meanes I came to know the Story. And though they doe, as you know, abhor the remembrance of their dead friends; yet when I take occasion to speak of her, and my reasons of hope that she is gone to heaven, they entertain it with joy, and sometimes with teares: I have been too tedious in this Story, yet I doubt not but it will be acceptable unto you.

For the further progresse of the work amongst them, I doe perceive a great impediment; Sundry in the Country in divers places would gladly be taught the knowledge of God and Iesus Christ, and would pray unto God, if I could goe unto them, and teach them where they dwell: but to come to live here among or neer to the *English*, they are not willing, because they have neither [p. 8.] tooles, nor skill, nor heart to fence their grounds; and if it be not well fenced, their Corne is so spoyled by the *English* Cattell, and the English so loath to restore when they want fence, that its a very great discouragement to them and me; so that few come to dwell at the neer places where I ordinarily teach, onely some strangers do come to hear, and away again: So that I plainly see, the way to do them good must be this. A place must be found (both for this and sundry other reasons I can give) some what remote from the English, where they must have the word constantly taught, and government constantly exercised, meanes of good subsistance provided, incouragements for the industrious, meanes of instructing them in Letters, Trades, and Labours, as building, fishing, Flax and Hemp dressing, planting Orchards, &c. Such a project in a fit place, would draw many that are well minded together: but I feare it will be too chargeable, though I see that God delighteth in small beginnings, that his great name may be magnified.

Note what hinders the progresse of the Gospel amongst them.

Few of our Southern Indians incline this way, onely some of *Tihtacutt*. Young *Ousamequin* is an enemy to praying to God, and the old man too wise to look after it. Our *Cutshamoquin* hath some subjects in *Marthas* Vineyard, and they hearing of his praying to God, some of them doe the like there, with some other ingenious Indians, and I have intreated Mr. *Mahew* (the young Scholler, son to old Mr. *Mayhew*) who preacheth to the English to teach them; and he doth take pains in their Language, and teacheth them not without successe, blessed be the Lord. And truly I think all the Ministers that live neer them should do well to do the like, I have earnestly solicited many so to do, and I hope God will in his time bow their hearts thereunto. But I perceive our Western Indians up into the Inland do more earnestly embrace the Gospel. *Shawanon* the great *Sachym* of *Nashaway* doth embrace the Gospel, and pray unto God. I have been foure times there this Summer, and there be more people by far, then be amongst us; and sundry of them do gladly hear the word of God, but it is neer 40. miles off, and I can but seldom goe to them; wherat they are troubled, and desire I should come oftner, and stay longer when I come.

Examples in Superiors very prevalent.

There is a great fishing place upon one of the Falls of *Merimack* [p. 9.] River called *Pautucket*, where is a great confluence of

Indians every Spring, and thither I have gone these two yeares in that season, and intend so to doe the next Spring (if God will.) Such confluences are like Faires in *England*, and a fit season it is to come then unto them, to teach them to know God, and Iesus Christ, and call upon his name. For whereas there did use to be gaming and much evill at those great meetings, now there is praying to God, and good conference, and observation of the Sabbath, by such as are well minded; and no open prophanesse suffered as I heare of, and my comming amongst them is very acceptable in outward appearance. This last Spring I did there meet old *Papassaconnaway*, who is a great *Sogamore*, and hath been a great Witch in all mens esteem (as I suppose your self have often heard) and a very politick wise man. The last yeare he and all his sonnes fled when I came, pretending feare that we would kill him: But this yeare it pleased God to bow his heart to heare the word; I preached out of Malachi 1. 11. which I thus render to them; *From the rising of the Sun, to the going down of the same, thy name shall be great among the Indians, and in every place prayers shall be made to thy name, pure prayers, for thy name shall be great among the Indians.* Whence I shewed them, what mercy God had promised to them; and that the time was now come wherein the Lord did begin to call them to repentance, and to beleeve in Christ for the remission of their sins, and to give them an heart to call upon his name, forsaking their former wayes of *pawwawing*, and praying to the Devill, &c. And when I had done preaching, they began to propound questions, and one of them propounded this; If it be thus as you teach, then all the world of Indians are gone to hell to be tormented for ever, untill now a few may goe to Heaven and be saved; Is it so? These principles of a twofold estate after this life, for good and bad people, Heaven and Hell, I put amongst the first questions that I instruct them in, and catechise the children in; and they doe readily embrace it for a truth, themselves by their own traditions having some principles of a life after this life, and that good or evill, according to their demeanour in this life. After a good space, this old *Papassaconnaway* speak to this purpose, that indeed he had never prayed unto God as yet, for he had never heard of God before, as [p. 10.] now he doth. And he said further, that he did beleeve what I taught them to be true. And for his owne part, he was purposed in his heart from thenceforth to pray unto God, and that hee would perswade all his sonnes to doe the same, pointing at two of them who were there present, and naming such as were absent. His sonnes present, especially his eldest sonne (who is a * Sachim at *Wadchuset*) gave his willing consent to what his father had promised, and so did the other who was but a youth. And this act of his was not onely a present motion that

The same signification with Sagamore viz one bearing rule among them.

soon vanished, but a good while after he spake to Capt. *Willard*, who tradeth with them in those parts for *Bever* and *Otter Skins*, &c. that he would be glad if I would come and live in some place thereabouts to teach them, and that Capt. *Willard* would live there also: And that if any good ground or place that hee had would be acceptable to me, he would willingly let me have it. I doe endeavour to engage the *Sachims* of greatest note to accept the Gospel, because that doth greatly animate and encourage such as are well-affected, and is a damping to those that are scoffers and opposers; for many such there be, though they dare not appeare so before me.

Thus you see by this short intimation, that the sound of the Word is spread a great way; yea, farther then I will speake of; and it appeareth to me, that the Fields begin to look white unto the Harvest. Oh that the Lord would be pleased to raise up many labourers into this Harvest! But it is difficult, not only in respect of the language, but also in respect of their barbarous course of life and poverty; there is not so much as meat, drink, or lodging for them that go unto them to preach among them, but we must carry all things with us, and somewhat to give unto them: So that the comming of Jesus Christ into these parts of the world, is not as he formerly came amongst the Gentiles, a poore underling, and his servants poore, living upon the Gospel where it was accepted among the rich Gentiles: But Christ will come unto these, rich, potent, above them in learning, riches, and power; and they shall flock unto the Gospel, thereby to receive externall beneficence and advancement, as well as spirituall grace and blessings. And thus I bend my selfe to doe to my poor ability: I never go unto them empty, but carry somewhat to distribute among them; [p. 11.] and so likewise when they come unto my house, I am not willing they should go away without some refreshing, neither do I take any gratuity from them unrewarded; and indeed they doe account, that they have nothing worth the giving unto me; onely once when I was up in the Countrey, a poore creature came to me as I was about to take Horse, shaking me by the hand, and with his other hand thrust somthing into my hand, I looked what it was, and it was a penny-worth of * *Wampam*, upon a strawes end; I seeing so much hearty affection in so small a thing, I kindly accepted, onely inviting him to my house, that I might there shew my love to him.

A beade they make, and is highly esteemed among the Indians, equal to money with us.

There is another great fishing place about threescore miles from us, whether I intend (God willing) to go next Spring, which belongeth to the forenamed *Papassaconnaway*; which journey, though it be like to be both difficult and chargeable for horse and men, in fitting provisions, yet I have sundry reasons which bow and draw

my heart thereunto. I desire your prayers to the Lord for me and for them, that the Lord would open my mouth to speak in his Name to their understandings, that with their hearts they may embrace that message which from the Lord I shall bring unto them.

They have no meanes of Physick at all, onely make use of *Pawwawes* when they be sick, which makes them loath to give it over: But I finde, by Gods blessing, in some meanes used in Physick and Chyrurgery, they are already convinced of the folly of *Pawwawing*, and easily perswaded to give it over utterly as a sinfull and diabolicall practise: but I much want some wholsome cordialls, and such other medicines as I have here mentioned in the in closed.

The *Indians* about us which I constantly teach, do still diligently and desirously attend, and in a good measure practise (for the outward part of Religion, both in their families and Sabbaths) according to their knowledge; and by degrees come on to labour. I should be over-tedious and troublesome to you to runne into particulars, onely let me give you a taste of their knowledge by their Questions, a few whereof I did sometimes set downe, though I have slipped many, and very materiall ones; these questions [p. 12.] being asked at sundry times, and at sundry meetings of the *Indians*.

Quest. *How many good people were in* Sodome *when it was burnt?*

I know not how to pray to Christ and the Spirit, I know a little how to pray to God?

Doth the Devill dwell in us as we dwell in an house?

When God saith, Honour thy Father, doth he mean three Fathers? our Father, and our Sachim, and God.

When the Soule goes to heaven, what doth it say when it comes there? And what doth a wicked Soule say when it commeth into Hell?

If one sleep on the Sabbath at meeting, and another awaketh him, and he be angry at it, and say, its because he is angry with him that he so doth, Is not this a sinne?

If any talk of another mans faults, and tell others of it when hee is [*not*] *present to answer, is not that a sinne?*

Why did Christ dye in our stead?

Seeing Eve *was first in sinne, whether did she dye first?*

Why must we love our enemies, and how shall we doe it?

How doth Christ redeem and deliver us from sinne?

When every day my heart thinks I must dye, and goe to hell for my sins, what shall I doe in this case?

May a good man sin sometimes? Or may he be a good man, and yet sin sometimes?

If a man think a prayer, doth God know it, and will he blesse him?

Who killed Christ?

If a man be almost a good man, and dyeth; whither goeth his soule?

How long was Adam good before he sinned?

Seeing we see not God with our eyes, if a man dream that he seeth God, doth his soule then see him?

Did Adam see God before he sinned?

Shall we see God in Heaven?

If a wicked man pray, whether doth he make a good prayer? or when doth a wicked man pray a good prayer?

If a man repent, doth God take away his sinnes, and forgive him?

Whether did God make hell before Adam sinned? [p. 13.]

If two families dwell in one house, and one prayeth, and the other not, what shall they that pray do to them that do not?

Did Abimeleck *know* Sarah *was* Abrahams *wife?*

Did not Abraham *sin in saying she is my sister?*

Seeing God promised Abraham *so many children, like the starres for multitude, why did he give him so few? and was it true?*

If God made hell in one of the six dayes, why did God make Hell before Adam *had sinned?*

Now the Indians desire to goe to Heaven, what shall we do that we may go thither when we dye?

How shall I bring mine heart to love Prayer?

If one man repent, and pray once in a day, another man often in a day; whether doth one of them go to Heaven, the other not? or what difference is there?

I finde I want wisdome, what shall I do to be wise?

Why did Abraham *buy a place to bury in?*

Why doth God make good men sick?

How shall the Resurrection be, and when?

Doe not Englishmen spoile their soules, to say a thing cost them more then it did? and is it not all one as to steale?

You say our body is made of clay, what is the Sunne or Moone made of?

If one be loved of all Indians good and bad, another is hated of all saving a few that be good, doth God love both these?

I see why I must feare Hell, and do so every day. But why must I feare God?

How is the tongue like fire, and like poyson?

What if false Witnesses accuse me of murther or some foul sin?

What punishment is due to lyars?

If I reprove a man for sinne, and he answer, why doe you speak thus angerly to me: Mr. Eliot *teacheth us to love one another, is this well?*

Why is God so angry with murtherers?

If a wife put away her husband because he will pray to God, and she will not, what must be done in this case?

If there be young women pray to God, may such as pray to God marry one that will not pray to God? or what is to bee done in this case?

[p. 14.] *Whether doth God make bad men dream good Dreames?*

What is Salvation?

What is the Kingdome of Heaven?

If my wife doe some work in the house on the night before the Sabbath, and some work on the Sabbath night, whether is this a sin?

If I doe that which is a sinne, and do not know it is a sin, what will God say to that?

Whether is faith set in my heart, or in my minde?

Why did Christ dye for us, and who did kill him?

By these questions you may see they somewhat favour the things of God and Christ, and that their soules be in a searching condition after the great points of Religion and Salvation. And I will say this solemnly, not suddenly, nor lightly, but before the Lord, as I apprehend in my conscience, were they but in a setled way of Civility and Government cohabiting together, and I called (according to God) to live among them, I durst freely joyne into Church-fellowship amongst them, and could finde out at least twenty men and women in some measure fitted of the Lord for it, and soone would be capable thereof: And we doe admit in charity some into our Churches, of our owne, of whose spirituall estate I have more cause of feare, then of some of them: But that day of grace is not yet come unto them. When Gods time is come, he will make way for it & enable us to accomplish it. In the meane time, I desire to wait, pray, and beleeve. But I will proceed no further at this time to trouble you with these things, though I doubt not but they will be acceptable tidings to your heart, and will be an occasion of quickning your prayers for them, and for me also, that utterance may be given mee, and further knowledge of their language, wherein for want of converse, I can make but slow progresse. Thus commending you to the Grace, guidance and protection of God in Christ, I rest,

Yours to be commanded in Jesus Christ,

Roxbury this 12. *of Nov.* 1648.

Jo. Eliot.

[p. 15.] *In the next place* I *shall offer a second Letter of his, written to a Gentleman of* New-England, *here residing at present, upon his urgent occasions; wherein the Reader may have further light concerning this great work now begun.* Take his Letter as it followeth,

Sir,

YOur faithfull and true love to Iesus Christ is expressed evidently to my heart, among other waies very much in your solicitous thoughts and care about the good of these poor Indians, and the furtherance of their conversion. God guided your discretion very seasonably in the Letters and Tokens you were pleased to send to those leading men, which reallity of love was very thankfully accepted by them, and they desire thanks to be returned for it, &c.

Your project for their Apparell which you first mention, is very fitting, but all the difficulty will be to get so much cloath as you speak of: Yet this they doe; some old things I have gotten and given them, and some they buy; and they carefully keep them till meeting times, and many of them at such times are pretty handsome, both men, women, and children also: And whereas some good people may think fitting to send some gifts that way for them, you shall find directions here inclosed, what will best sute with their condition.

Your next project for imployment of them in planting Orchards and Gardens, it suiteth very well with my apprehensions, and I have encouraged them that way, and have promised them many hundred trees, which I reserve in nurseries for them, & hope they shall set them out, or some of them the next Spring. The onely remora the fensing in of an Orchard, we yet being upon the fencing in of a great Corne field, where they have made (I think) 200. rod of ditching already, setting two rayles in the top, and are to stone up the banks as they raise stones in planting: And when the field is fenced, then they shall fence Orchards, but they are hindred for want of Tooles, and by bad Tooles discouraged; their skill also being weak though the tooles were good, but of 30. or 40. I have scarce any left. But we must endeavour to get a Magazine for them of all manner of Tooles, &c. They had Sawyers [p. 16.] at work last winter, and will have more this winter (I hope) for they saw very good board and planke, and could I be amongst them oftner, they would both attend it better, and doe things more orderly.

They are willing to follow my advice in any reasonable thing: onely I am confident of what you write, they must not be bent too hard at first, and I find not many that do so duly consider that point as your self; but because they be not in all points of labour as the *English* be, think all is too little or no purpose. Its hard to look

upon the day of small things with patience enough. I find it absolutely necessary to carry on civility with Religion: and that maketh me have many thoughts that the way to doe it to the purpose, is to live among them in a place distant from the *English*, for many reasons; and bring them to co-habitation, Government, Arts, and trades: but this is yet too costly an enterprize for *New-England*, that hath expended it self so far in laying the foundation of a Common-weale in this wildernesse.

For their Schooling, a Gentleman in *London* (whose name I could never learn) did give ten pounds towards it the last yeare, which I thus disposed of; five pounds I gave to a grave woman in *Cambridge*, who taught the Indian children last yeare; And God so blessed her labours, that they came on very prettily. The other five pounds I gave to the School-master of *Dorcester*, and thither the Children of those Indians that lived thereabout went, with a like good successe, if not better, because the children were bigger and more capable. This 10. l. bill Captain *Harding* paid here, and was to take it at *London*: but I heare nothing from him, nor do I know whether the Gentleman will continue his gift: I feare for want of meanes both these Schooles will fall; and the Children like to lose all that they have gotten the first yeare, which is a work had need be closely followed: because they are to learn our language as well as to read; onely I take my constant course of catechising them every Lecture day, and I thank the Lord, they are (many of them) very ready in their answers in the principles of Religion. And in that exercise I endeavour also to use them to good manners.

Some of *Sudbury* Indians, some of *Concord* Indians, some of *Mestick* Indians, and some of *Dedham* Indians are ingenious, and [p. 17.] pray unto God, and sometimes come to the place where I teach to heare the word. *Linn* Indians are all naught save one, who sometimes commeth to heare the word, and telleth me that hee prayeth to God: and the reason why they are bad is, partly and principally because their * *Sachim* is naught, and careth not to pray unto God: But I am overwearisome unto you, and therefore will go no further at this time; onely this one thing more, whereas it hath pleased you to allow 40. s. to the payment of a man who should direct the Indians about their labour, and in planting of Orchards; I shall be so bold as to appoint such as have deserved it to call for it, and it shall be employed God willing to their best furtherance as neer as I can. And thus desiring God, &c. I remaine.

Bad Governours have an evill influence upon the people.

Roxbury this 13. *of the* 9. 1649.

Yours to be commanded any thing in Christ Jesus John Eliot.

Another Letter Courteous Reader dated in February *last, I received also from this our Indian Evangelist (if I may so terme him) and because it is replenished with many pithy questions of the Indians, which imply a further progresse in knowledge; and sundry other considerable passages worthy observation, and very delightfull to a Christian spirit, I thought it my duty to publish it to the world, that so it might be a meanes to stir up all that are faithfull in Christ Jesus by prayer and otherwise to help forward this precious work begun, so much conducing to the glory of God, and the good of men.* His Letter followeth.

Much respected and longed for in the Lord,

WEre you not about the Lords businesse, an Instrument in his hand to manage some special affaires wherein his glory is much concerned, your long absence could not but be imbittered with manifold troubles to your own spirit, as it is like to be with losses and inconveniences to your outward estate; but I trust the Lord will have a speciall regard to all, &c. I perceive others to be silent in giving you information about the progresse of the Lords work amongst the poor Indians, and therefore I thought it necessary to do it, knowing it will add to your comfort to heare that the Lord is still at worke, but I have done it more largely already [p. 18.] in Letters by Mr. *Vsher*, by way of * *Maligo*, as also by Mr. *Bracket* of *Braintree*, by the way of *Virginia*, in Letters both to your self, and also to Mr. *Pelham*, &c. I only write now by this Ship, lest it coming in before the other Ships, you should receive some discouragement concerning the work, as if it were sunk in the beginning; but blessed be the Lord it is not so, although the progresse is yet small: It is a day of small things, an Embrio which the Lord expecteth should be furthered by the prayers of the Saints and Churches: And therefore I earnestly begg your prayers, that the Lord would thrust forth more Laborers into this Harvest; and because the meanes is exceeding small and inconsiderable for so vast an enterprize as this is: there is the more eminent need of Faith and Prayer, that the Lord himself, by his speciall grace, favour, and providence, would appear in this matter: for the Lord must raigne in these latter dayes, and more eminently, & observably, overtop all Instruments and meanes: And I trust he will mightily appear in this businesse, as in other parts of the world.

* These Letters and Passengers are not yet come into England.

I have intimated in my other Letters, what good hopes I have of sundry of them, and that they begin to *enquire after baptisme and Church Ordinances, and the way of worshipping God as the Churches here do*; but I

They shal ask the way to Syon. Ier. 50. 5.

shewing them how uncapable they be to be trusted therewith, whilst they live so unfixed, confused, and ungoverned a life, uncivilized and unsubdued to labor and order; they begin now to enquire after such things. And to that end, I have propounded to them that a fit place be found out for Cohabitation, wherewith they may subsist by labor, and settle themselves in such a way: And then they may have a Church, and all the Ordinances of Christ amongst them. These and other things tending that way, I have propounded to them, and they seeme to me to accept them gladly, and the longer they consider, and the more they confer together of them, the more acceptable they are unto them: And I wayting to see how the Lord would carry on this work by the wise and gracious eye & hands of his providence, I took this ☞ to be one *speciall and eminent smile of God*, upon the work that he had stirred up, the *Parliament of England*, to take it into consideration, and to order the Committee of Lords and [p. 19.] Commons for forraign Plantations to think of some meet way how they might best advance it: And indeed the way you mention in your Letter which they have taken, *(which I trust is perfected long before this time,)* I conceive to be a way of God, and not only very acceptable to me, but honourable to themselves, and the Nation, to be engaged in so pious and charitable a work, if meanes may hereby be procured to a thorow carrying on the same.

I have also intimated in my other Letters, and sent word again in this, what manner of * provisions of all sorts will be necessary to be sent over, and that special care be had that the tooles for labour of all sorts may be of a good temper and well made; otherwise they will be discouraged, &c. the particulars as well for Phisick and Surgery, as for Cloathing and Instruments for labour of all sorts is inclosed therein: But I will trouble you no further at this time with what I have written in my other Letters, hoping the Lord will bring them to your hands: onely I shall intimate such things as have occurred since the writing of my former Letters.

* It would be neither pleasing nor profitable to mention them, and therefore are left out.

There is an *Indian* living with Mr. *Richard Calicott* of *Dorchester*, who was taken in the *Pequott* Warres, though belonging to *Long* Island; this *Indian* is ingenious, can read; and I taught him to write, which he quickly learnt, though I know not what use he now maketh of it: He was the first that I made use of to teach me words, and to be my Interpreter. Now of late, the Lord hath stirred up his heart to joyn unto the Church at *Dorchester*, and this day I am going to the Elders, meeting, to the examination and Tryall of this young man, in preparation for his admission into the Church.

Likewise since I purposed to write to you of these matters, I have taken care to note such Questions as they propound, and I shall here set down such as have been propounded by them since my last Letters: For by them you may guesse at the progresse they make in knowledge.

[p. 20.] *Questions.*

WHy have not beasts a soul as man hath, seeing they have love, anger, &c. as man hath?

How is the spirit of God in us? and where is it principally present? The indwelling of the spirit in us is mysterious.

Why doth God punish in hell for ever? man doth not so, but after a time lets them out of prison again. And if they repent in hell, why will not God let them out again?

What is Faith?

Whether do you think I have Faith?

a How shall I know when God accepts my prayers? a A choice spirit looks after his prayers.

How doth Christ make peace betwixt God and man? And what is the meaning of that point?

Why did the *Jewes* give the Watchmen money to tell a lye?

If I heare Gods Word when I am young, and do not believe, but when I am old I believe: what will God say?

In wicked dreames doth the soule sin? *b* b See Eccles. 5. 7.

Doth the soule in Heaven know things done here on earth?

Doth the soule in Heaven remember what it did here on earth before he dyed?

Who first gave Lawes to men?

What is Law?

If my heart be full of evil thoughts, *c* and I repent and pray, and a few houres after it is full again, and I repent and pray again; and if after this it be full of evill thoughts again, what will God say? c A soft and serious spirited Christian eyes his thoughts.

Why did the earth shake at Christs Resurrection?

What meaneth this, That God will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his name in vaine?

What force of wicked men is lawfull, and what is not?

What if a Minister weare long hayre, as some other men do, what will God say?

If a man will make his Daughter marry a man whom she doth not love, what will God say? *d* d forced marriages scrupled by Indians.

[p. 21.] Why doth Christ compare the Kingdom of heaven to a net? Why doth God so hate them that teach others to commit sin?

SIR,

I Am now streightned in time, and must hasten away my Letters: I can proceed no further at present, and therefore with earnest desires of your Prayers, I commit you to the gracious protection of the Lord, who hath hitherto helped, and will never faile those that trust in him.

Roxbury this 2. of the 12. 1648.

Yours in any service I can in Jesus Christ

John Eliott.

[p. 22.] AN

APPENDIX TO THE

foregoing Letters, holding forth

Conjectures, Observations, and Applycations of them.

THe *works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that love them*, saith the Psalmist, *Psal.* 111. 3. The word which we render, *sought out*, hath a mighty *Emphasis* in it: Tis a word used sometimes to *Denote* the *Elaborate care* of *digging* and *scarching into mines*. And sometimes its made use of to expresse the *accurate labors of those who comment upon writings*. Indeed there is a *golden mine* in every work of God; and the *foregoing Letters* to a gracious eye, are as a discovery of a far more precious *mine* in *America*, then those *Gold* and *Silver* ones of *India:* For they bring tidings of the *unsearchable riches of Christ* revealed unto poore soules in those parts.

Or if thou wilt (Reader) thou mayest eye *this work of God* as a full *text*: affording, matter both for *Theoretick* and *practick* conclusions.

I must professe for my self, I could not passe over so rich a mine without digging: nor let passe so full a *text* (as this work of God in *America*) without some short comment: which the request of the worthy Publisher of these precious papers, hath prevailed with me to affix, and publish as an Appendix.

The palpable and present acts of providence, doe more then hint the approach of Jesus Christ: And the Generall consent of many judicious, and godly Divines, doth induce *considering minds* to beleeve, that the conversion of the Jewes is at hand. Its the expectation of some of the wisest Jewes now living, that about the year 1650. *Either we Christians shall be Mosaick, or else that themselves Jewes shall be Christians.* The serious consideration of the preceding Letters, induceth me to *Conjectures.* think, that there may be at least a remnant of the *Generation of Jacob* in *America*, [p. 23.] (peradventure some of the 10. Tribes dispersions.) And that those sometimes poor, now precious *Indians* (mentioned in those Letters) may be as the *first fruits* of the glorious harvest, of *Israels redemption.* The observation is not to be sleighted (though the observer * modestly said it was *more cheerfull then deep)* that the first Text out of which Mr. *Eliot* preach- Mr. *Shepherd in the clear Sunshine, &c. pag.* 33.

ed, was about the dry bones, Ezek. 37. 9. 10. *That by prophesying to the wind, the wind came and the dry bones lived*: It may be there is not much weight in the observation, that the word which the Indians use for wind, is *Waubon*: and that an *Indian* of that name is, and hath been very sedulous for their conversion: Yet to me there is ground for a very weighty thought; that, that portion of Scripture should be first of all openned to them, which clearly foretold the conversion of *Israel*, *i. e.* The 10. Tribes universally understood, and peculiarly meant by the name or notion of *Israel*, when distinct from *Judah*, (as in that prophesy it is) Why may we not at least *conjecture*, that God by a special finger pointed out that text to be first openned, which immediately concerned the persons to whom it was preached: Especially, if (as some credibly affirme) that the *Jewes of the Netherlands* (being intreated thereunto) *informe that after much inquiry they found some of the ten Tribes to be in America.* When our Lord came to *Nazaret*, and standing up to read: Its said there was delivered unto him the book of *Isaias*, and he openned the book, and found it written, *The spirit of the Lord is upon me, &c.* The bringing of that Scripture to our Lords hands so providentially, was a hint (at least) that the present hearers were in an eminent manner concerned in that prophesie. What ever may be in this observation (which I humbly offer to the *searching thoughts of judicious persons)* I am much inclined to conjecture, that there is a sprinkling at least of *Abrahams seed* in these parts, The reasons of my inclination hereunto are these,

1. *They have (at least) a traditionall knowledge of God, as the maker of heaven and earth.* Its true, they talk of other Gods; but yet they hold that the chief God is he, *who made all things.* Which agnition of God, was peculiar to the *Jewes*, in opposition to the *Gentiles*: Hence it was that when they were Captives in *Babylon*: this was that *Character*, by which they were taught to distinguish the true God (which the *Gentiles* knew not) that he was the *Maker of all things*, Jer. 10. 16.

[p. 24.] 2. *What ever they attribute unto others, this they peculiarly attribute unto this God*, viz. *that all things both good and evill, are managed by his Providence*, and if they doe but hurt themselves, they say 'tis a note of Gods displeasure: Hence

3. Before ever any of them received any instruction from our *English*, by tradition they were taught, and did *upon observation of a bad year, or other ill successe, meet and weep as unto God; acknowledging it to be his hand of displeasure upon them: And on the other side, upon a good year, or good successe in any businesse, as of War, &c. they used to meet and make a kind of acknowledgement of thanks to God* for it.

4. It is very observable; that they are *carefull to preserve the memory of their Families, mentioning Vncles, Grand-Fathers, and*

Grand-mothers, &c. and much studying the advancing of their houses and kindred: A thing which had a great tang of, and affinitie to the *Jewes* care of preserving the memoriall of their *Tribes*.

5. Those of them who have been wrought upon, tell of *some face of Religion, wisedom, and manners which long agoe* their Ancestors had, but that it was lost.

6. (To omit other grounds of this conjecture.) The *better and more sober sort of them, delight much to expresse themselves in parables.* * A thing peculiar to the Jewes, as those who read their writings, or consider Christs manner of expressing himself, will easily see. *See pag.* 5.

These and the like considerations prevaile with me to entertain (at least) a *Conjecture*, that these *Indians in America*, may be *Jewes* (especially of the ten Tribes.) And therefore to hope that the work of Christ among them, may be as a preparatory to his own appearing.

If these reasons prevaile not with thee (Reader) to give quarter to my conjecture: yet I cannot but perswade my self, that the former Letters soberly & duly weighed, will cause thee to subscribe with me to this conclusion, that, *the work of God among the Indians in America, is glorious, and to be admired by all those, who look after and rejoyce in the appearance of our Lord Jesus*, Surely the *Sun of Righteousnesse* is risen, with *healing vertue under his wings*, upon those poor hearts, who sate *in darknesse, and the shadow of death.* And [p. 25.] these godly persons who fled into *America* for shelter from *Prelaticall perscecution*, doe now appeare to be carried there by a sacred and sweet providence of Christ, to make known his name to those poor soules, who have been *Captives to Satan* these many Ages. The Christians when scattered abroad, went to and fro preaching the word. And I wish from my soul, that all these *Ministers of the Dispertion* (as I may call them) in *New-England*; would stirre up themselves to this work of the Lord, which (now it seems) he intended in his carrying of them thither. Surely these tydings as they are *grounds of rejoycing* to others a far off; so they should be much more *incouragements of putting to the hand* of such as are there unto this harvest of the Lord. And so much the rather, because the Gospel in its advancement amongst these *Western Indians*, appeares to be *not in word only* (as it was by the *Spaniards* among their Indians) *but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance:* Doe not these true reports shew *what manner of entrance the Gospel hath among them: and how they turn unto God from Idols* (from their *pawwawes*) to serve the *living and true God*, and to *look for his sonne* from *Heaven*, * &c. 1 Thes. 1. *See the Womans speech pag.* 7.

(Reader) I intreat thee to beare with me, if in *Commenting*

upon this work of God, I offer a few notes to declare that in truth this work of God is not only in the *Letter*, but in the *Observation.* *Spirit* and power of the *Gospel.* These things I note (and pray doe thou) to this purpose.

1. The questions which are moved by the Indians comming and come in, are such as are of great and weighty concernment; And such as indeed evince a more then common working of the spirit by the word on them. Such are those that concerne *spirituall joyning in prayer*, and a *knowledge of Gods acceptation thereof.* Those questions also that relate to the *marrying of the godly with the wicked:* (much like that of the *Corinthians* to *Paul.* 1 *Cor.* 7. and 2 *Cor.* 8.) and those that concern the *evill of thoughts and dreames*, &c. See and consider the Questions.

2. The full casting off their *Pawwaws*; and not seeking to them: Although they much idolized them, and albeit they know not as yet, any meanes of help when sick, but them.

3. Their sweet and affectionate melting under the word of grace: and their exceeding hungring and thirsting after the *Vide pag.* 27. enjoyment [p. 26.] thereof. Together with enquiry after *Syon*, and their great joy they declare in their hopes thereof.

4. Lastly, and especially the reall and undenyable evidences of the work of grace in power upon some particular persons mentioned: and particular that of the *woman* in whom I cannot but note these things.

pag. 6, 7. 1. Her desire to live by the ordinance of the word, although with great trouble.

2. Her Exemplarines of life, after the Lord did work upon her.

3. Her resolutions to love God, *though he made her sick.* Oh! *could she love God, except he loved her first?*

4. Her belief that God was well pleased with her in Christ, and hereupon her willingnesse to dye, in assurance of going to Heaven.

5. Her care of her Children upon her first knowing of God: and her charging them not to live with their kindred, pressing it chiefly with this, that *they prayed not*, and that they *committed sin, and were not punished*: Oh holy and high attainment! to see an *evill in sinning and not being punished.* This was the great evill threatned. *Hosea* 9. 14.

What doe all these things declare? but this: That Christ hath made the *day of his power* to arise upon those poor *Application.* soules: In making them *a willing people:* And what improvement should we make of this comment upon the work of the Lord, if not this or the like;

First, To study and search into the works of the Lord, to see how he counterplots the enemy in his designes: In making the late Bishops persecuting of the Godly tend to the promoting of the Gospel.

Secondly, To take heed of dispising the *day of small things*. It being Gods way to lay most glorious workes upon little and despicable foundations: And to advance the Treasury of the Gospel in earthen vessels, even to the ends of the Earth.

Thirdly, To be ashamed of, and bewaile our want of affection to, and estimation of that glorious Gospel, and those great things of Christ: which these poor Heathens upon the little Glymmerings and tasts so exceedingly value and improve.

[p. 27.] Fourthly: Doth not the observation of the preceeding reports, clearly confirme the *Doctrine of the Sabboth*, and the *practise of prayer*: Oh tremble ye *Sabboth-slighters*, and *duty-dispisers*, Christ hath witnesses against you in *America*! Be ashamed ye pretended-*Men* and *fathers* in Christ for comming short of *Babes* and *Children*! In truth the very light of Nature will condemne you. Prayer in all ages (and that not mentall, but verball, and expresse) hath been that by which the *Deity* hath been *agnized* and worshipped. The *converted Heathens* in *New-England*, goe beyond you, O ye *Apostate Christians* in *England*!

Lastly, be incouraged to put to your helping hand unto the work of the Lord. And to that end,

1. *Arise ye heads of our Tribes in Old England*, and extend your help to further Christs labourers in *N.-England*. Rather steal from your sleep an houre, then suffer that good Ordinance to lye asleep so long; which if drawn into an Act, will exceedingly further this blessed work. Surely if you were petitioned to in the name of Christ, and his Gospel, to give money out of your own purse to exalt him in furthering it. Durst you deny it? How much lesse can you deny the passing of an Act to enable some to receive and dispose what others would gladly give. The work is so clear, that you need not many houres to debate it: And I hope you are so willing that I shall not need more words to presse it, only let me add this that as Ministers, so Statists do finde personall examples, the most powerfull motives to practick doctrines.

2. *Rouze up your selves my Brethren; ye Preachers of the Gospel*, this work concernes you. Contrive and plot, preach for, and presse the advancement hereof. Its cleare you may do much: Let not this be your condemnation, that you did nothing.

3. *Come forth ye Masters of money*, part with your Gold to promote the Gospel; Let the gift of God in temporal things make way, for the Indians receipt of spiritualls. If you give any thing *yearly*, remember Christ will be your *Pensioner*. If you give any thing into *banke*, Christ will keep *account* thereof, and reward it. You hear of what things are necessary in order to the advancement of that one *thing necessary*. Rest assured of this, what ever you give will be well and wisely improved. And as far as the Gospel is mediately advanced by your money, be sure you will be remembred. [p. 28.]

But to winde up all, *Fal down O all ye who love the Lord Jesus: & bow your knees to his father & yours in his name, to prosper the progresse made of the Gospel among the Indians in N-England.* Pray that an effectuall door may be openned there. Remember Mr. *Eliot.* Forget not Mr. *Mayhew,* and all other that labour in the work. Pray for them that Christs work may prosper in their hands. Christ calls upon you by these Letters, and saith. *The harvest is great, but the Labourers are few, pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest to send forth Labourers into his vineyard.* If you thus heare Christ, and obey his voice, you shall accomplish the end of this Appendix, and exceedingly rejoyce the heart of the Author thereof, who is

An unworthy Labourer in Christs work here, and an ardent desirer of further progresse thereof in New-England.

J. D.

F J N J S.

THe Lord, *who is wonderful in Councel, and excellent in working*, hath so wrought, that the scorching of some of *his people* with the *Sun of persecution*, hath been the enlightning of those who were *not his people*, with the *Sun of righteousnesse*. This present Narrative gives testimony, That our dear Brethren who withdraw from the heat of trouble in *Old England*, have been used as Instruments in the Lords hand to draw som (I might say many) of the poor Heathens to behold and rejoyce in the light of the everlasting Gospel in *New-England*. Surely 'tis cause of greater glorying that any of those Heathens have found the way of life and salvation among our brethren, then that our brethren have found place and safety (yea, then though they should finde the richest merchandize of gold and silver) among those Heathens. And how much doth it become Christians to let Heathens see that they seek *them* more then *theirs*; That the gaining of them to Christ is more in their eye, then any worldly gain.

Joseph Caryl.

The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day.

OR,

A farther Discovery of the present state of the *INDIANS*

IN

New-England,

Concerning the Progresse of the *Gospel* amongst them.

Manifested by Letters from such as preacht to them there.

Published by *Henry Whitfeld*, late Pastor to the Church of Christ at *Gilford* in *New-England*, who came late thence.

Zeph. 2. 11. *The Lord will famish all the gods of the earth, and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Iles of the Heathen.*

London, Printed by *T. R.* & *E. M.* for *John Bartlet*, and are to be sold at the Gilt Cup, neer St. *Austins* gate in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1651.

To the Right Honorable

THE

PARLIAMENT

OF

England

And the

COUNCEL of STATE.

Right Honorable,

HOw *abundantly the Lord hath enlarged the hearts, and raised the resolutions of this present Parliament to serve him, the many good things, and great things done by you, sufficiently witnesse, and will be acknowledged, at least in another generation. It is not the smallest in the eyes of those that look up to God for you, both in Old* England *and New, that you have so readily contributed your power, upon the first notice of the manifestation of Gods gracious work upon the Indians, by an* Act *published by you, for promoving the same.*

In order whereunto I crave leave in all humility to represent (having lived some yeers in the Countrey, and lately came thence) how happily the Lord carrieth on his work there, *which I have done in this small Treatise following.*

And for your more full satisfaction, give leave to remove such false surmises and aspersions, suggested on purpose to retard the work. Some are heard to question the affections of New-England *towards the Parliament, and present state; To which I must answer, that the Magistrates, Ministers, and generally the people of* New-England, *so farre as I know or have observed, or can learn, have been faithful and cordial to the Parliament*

from the first, and do own this present Government, and Common-wealth, giving in this as a reall argument, in being your Honours Remembrancers at the throne of grace, both praying to God for you in your straits, and praising God for the enlargment of his good hand upon you. Others endeavour more directly to prejudice the work, by suggesting that the charity of the wel-affected hath been abused, in that there is no such work, or that there is a greater noise made of it in the world then there is cause; To this I can safely answer, that there hath been, I beleeve in no mans observation, greater faithfulnesse found in any businesse, both for truth of relation in what hath passed, or disposing what hath been contributed; the persons that are concerned in it, whether they be the Corporation established by you, or that have the managing of it in New-England, *being persons of known integrity, and much honoured of all that know them, in this very respect; Most of these accounts I have seen, both what monies have been received and disbursed, both what, how, and to whom. These also are ready to give your Honours satisfaction about this, if need require, and it will be an ease, and an honour to them to be called to such an account.*

And now the way being thus cleared, I proceed to make it my humble request to your Honours, that you would be pleased to accept of this my humble acknowledgment, and thankful remembrance of what you have already done; and that it would not be troublesome to you to be intreated, and stirred up by my meannesse, to proceed in the continuance of your favour, as to the whole Country, so especially towards this work, that your hands may be still held up to the farther advance, and perfecting these happy beginnings. And as you have given it feet, so you would give it wings, that it may get above al difficulties, which may be cast in the way. Truly the work is honorable, and worthy your care, and innost affections, and to be laid in your bosomes, that it may feel the warmth and influence of your favour, and best respects, it tending so much to the good of the souls of these poor wild creatures, multitudes

of them being under the power of Satan, and going up and downe with the chains of darknesse ratling at their heels. This I may also say for your Honours encouragement, there is fa re greater cause of promoting this work then formerly, there being m re persons, and places which have rec ived the Gospel amongst them. Our Lord Christ and his truth gets ground, and the Devil loseth, they daily break from him, and renounce him, and all his cursed works of darknesse, as you will find in this following Narrative. *And lastly, let me adde but this, The Lord hath given the uttermost ends of the earth to Jesus Christ for his inheritance, let therefore your hands go on (Noble Worthies) to help him in taking the possession of his* own, *who hath kept you in* yours *with an out-stretched arme. But I shall be no farther troublesome to your Honours; The most wise and strong God, for Christs sake, strengthen your hearts and hands, sit amongst you in your daily assemblings, and help you to guide the Ship of this Common-wealth, under your care, in these tossing and troublesome times, that there may be peace and safety found for such as are quiet in the Land; and let me have the favour to be looked upon by you, as*

Your Honours to serve you

in the things of Jesus Christ,

Henry Whitfield.

[p. 1.]

Christian Reader.

I *Have adventured to put this smal* Treatise *in thy hand, and to give some account of the publishing of it, conceiving it a means to advance that common comfort, which all good Christians do share in with the Angels of heaven, about the conversion of sinners to God. This will appear by shewing there is a doore of hope opened for the poore Indians, of whom it may be thou hast not yet heard; I thought also by relating the truth of things, as they stand at present, concerning the Indians you have heard of, and Gods dealing with them, I might undeceive such as are either apt, or do beleeve, that things reported of them are but a fable, and a device or engine used by some to cheat good people of their money, and so discourage them from yeelding any help towards this great work. The Lord forgive them this great sinne, that have raised these evill reports.*

Vnderstand therefore (good Reader) that my selfe intending (by Gods help) my returne into my native Countrey; It pleased the Lord by his providence, before we could come to the place where we were to take ship for England, *that, by reason of contrary winds, we were faine to put in at an Iland called* Martins *Vineyard, which is the most Southerly Iland that lies in that tract of Land called* New England, *where there is a small Plantation, and a Church gathered, where we stayed about ten dayes, in which time I had the more leasure and opportunity to informe my selfe of the state of the Indians there; having heard formerly that divers of them began to taste the knowledge of Christ: For this end I had recourse to Mr.* Mahu, *who is the Pastor of the Church, and having attained a good understanding in the Indian tongue, and can speak it well, hath laid the first foundation of the knowledge of Christ amongst the Indians there by preaching unto them; who gave me full information of what I desired. I had also speech with some of the Indians (Mr.* Mahu *being my Interpreter.) Above the rest my desire was to speak with the Indian who now preacheth unto them every Lords day twice, whose name is* Hiacoomes, *who seemed to me to be a man of a prompt understanding, of a sober and moderate spirit, and a* [p. 2.] *man well reported of for his conversation both by the English and Indians. I thought him to be about* 30 *yeers of age; with this man I had often speech, and I asked him divers questions about Christian Religion, and*

Some call it Marthaes Vineyard.

about his own estate before God. I remember once I asked him these questions. 1. Whether he had found sorrow for sin, as sin. 2. Whether he had sorrowed for his sins as they had pierced Christ. 3. Whether he had found the Spirit of God as an inward comforter to him; *Vnto all which he gave me a very good satisfactory and Christian answer. After this I had the opportunity to go to a private meeting of the Indians (of which you shall understand more in the Letter following) with Mr.* Mahu, *where having spent three or foure houres in Questions and Answers, which passed too and fro between the Indians and my self; at our parting I desired that one of them would desire a blessing upon what they had heard for their edification, which was accordingly done; for they chose out a young man who prayed a quarter of an houre, and somewhat more, with great reverence and affection, as farre as I could judge by his voyce and outward deportment: Master* Mahu *also told me that he had many pertinent and significant expressions in his prayer; so that God hath poured on some of them the gift, and I hope the spirit of prayer.*

The next day we rode to the Indian Lecture, where Mr. Mahu *preached and catechised their children who answered readily and modestly in the Principles of Religion; some of them answered in the English some in the Indian tongue. Thus having seen a short model of his way, and of the paines he took, I made some enquiry about Mr.* Mahu *himself, and about his subsistance, because I saw but small and slender appearance of outward conveniences of life, in any comfortable way; the man himself was modest, and I could get but little from him; but after, I understood from others how short things went with him, and how he was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children which depended upon him, to provide necessaries for them; having not halfe so much yeerly coming in, in a setled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there amongst them. Yet he is chearfull amidst these straits, and none hear him to complain. The truth is, he will not leave the work, in which his heart is engaged; for upon my knowledge, if he would have left the work, and imployed himself otherwhere, he might have had a more competent and comfortable maintenance. I mention this the rather, because I have some hope, that some pious minde, that reads this, might be inwardly moved to consider his condition, and come to his succor for his encouragement in this great work.*

[p. 3.] *At my parting from this Iland I desired Mr.* Mahu *that he would take the pains to write me the Story of Gods dealing with the Indians, from the first time of their coming thither, to this present time; which he accordingly did, and I received before*

my going out of the Countrey; which Letter of his to me, finding many remarkable passages in it, I thought fit to publish it, that the Lord might have the glory of his free grace, in regard of these poor Heathens who seeme to be the dregs and refuse of Adams *lost posterity; and to put an edge upon the prayers and prayses of Gods people, the fruit of which will returne into their owne bosomes. And if there be a right set of spirit in you, you will blesse God for such as present such kinde of matter to you, and do put an opportunity into your hands, whereby you may any way be instrumental to promote the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.*

The Letter written with his own hand followeth.

SIR,

YOu being by especial providence of God, brought amongst us, and while you were here looking into the present mercy of God that these Indians were blessed with, you found an occasion farther to enquire what the former dispensations of God have beene to bring them hitherto. Now assuring my self that it is from your desire that the Lord may be glorified in the salvation of these poor Indian souls, I shall, by the assistance of God, declare the truth, and that which shall, by his grace, administer also a ground of prayer to be put unto the God of all blessings in Jesus Christ for us; and I hope, unto any, whom the Lord shall call to the like service, a blessed experience of the Lords workings, turning all things, yea seeming hinderances, to the furtherance of the work of grace amongst them.

Now for your satisfaction you may please to know that this work amongst the Indians had its first rise and beginning in the yeere 1643. When the Lord stirred up the heart of an Indian, who then lived neer to the English Plantation, whose name is *Hiacoomes*, a man of a sad & a sober spirit, unto whose *Wigwam* or house some of the English repairing, & speaking to him about the way of the English, he came to visit our habitations and publike meetings, [p. 4.] thinking that there might be better wayes and means amongst the English, for the attaining of the blessings of health and life, then could be found amongst themselves: Yet not without some thoughts and hopes of a higher good he might possibly gain thereby, at which time I took notice of him, and had oft discourse with him, inviting him to my house every Lords day at night. About this time it so fell out, that this Indian went with some English men to a little Iland, where meeting a surly *Sagamore* whose name was *Pake Ponesso*, who reproached him for his fellowship with the English, both in their civil and religious wayes, railing at him for his being obedient to them:

By this name they call their Kings and Governors.

Hiacoomes replyed that he was gladly obedient to the English, neither was it for the Indians hurt he did so; Upon which the Sagamore gave him a great blow on the face with his hand; but there being some English men present, they would not suffer the Sagamore to strike him again. The poor Indian thus wronged, made this use of it, and said, *I had one hand for injures, and the other for God, while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

There was a very strange disease this yeare amongst the Indians, they did run up and down till they could run no longer, they made their faces as black as a coale, snatched up any weapon, spake great words, but did no hurt; I have seen many of them in this case. The Indians having many calamities fallen upon them, they laid the cause of all their wants, sicknesses, and death, upon their departing from their old heathenish ways, only this man held out, and continued his care about the things of God: and being desirous to read, the English gave him a Primer, which he stil carries about with him.

Now whilst *Hiacoomes* was feeling after God, he met with another tryall; for going into an Indian house where there
1644. were many Indians, they scoffed at him with great laughter, saying, *Here comes the English man*, who by their noyse awaked his old enemy *Pakeponesso*, who was asleep, who joyning with the other Indians, told him, *I wonder* (said he) *that you that are a young man, having a wife and two children, should love the English and their wayes, and forsake the Pawwawes; what would you do if any of you should be sick? whither would you go for help? I say, if I were in your case there should nothing draw me from our gods and Pawwawes.* At this time he replyed nothing, but told a friend of his that he then thought in his heart that the God in heaven did know and heare [p. 5.] all the evill words that *Pakeponesso* spake. Thus the changing of his way caused much hatred to him, neither was there so much as the least appearance of any outward argument amongst us, that might weigh against it.

After this there fell a great judgment of God on this Sagamore; for in the night when he and his company were in the * Wigwam, it beginning to raine, he and a young man stood up upon the floor of planks which lay about two foot from the ground, to put a Matt over the Chimnie, there came a great flash of lightning, and after it thunder not very loud, yet full of the vengeance of God, which killed the young man out-right, and strook *Pakeponesso* down dead for a long time, and he fell off from the floore of planks along upon the ground with one legge in the fire, and being much burned, it was took

* *An Indian house or Wigwam is made with smal poles like an arbour covered with mats, and their fire is in the midst, over which they leave a place for the smoak to go out at.*

out by some that lay in the other side of the Indian house. Now *Hiacoomes* (as himself saith) did remember his former thoughts of God, and then thought God did answer him, and that he was brought more to rejoyce in God, and rest more upon him.

Now in these times, as I did endeavour the good of these Heathens by discourse with diverse of them, so in particular with *Hiacoomes*, who did communicate that knowledge he had amongst those he could; for some of them 1645.
could not endure the light he brought; some were more attentive to hear, and more ready to follow the truth, yet they did not well behold the Majesty of the Lord by these personal particular works; at last the Lord sent an universal sicknes, and it was observed by the Indians, that they that did but give the hearing of good counsel, did not taste so deeply of it, but *Hiacoomes* and his family
in a manner not at all. This put the Indians who dwell 1646.
about six miles from us, upon serious consideration of
the thing, being much affected, that he which had exposed himself to such reproaches and troubles, should receive more blessings then themselves; hereupon they sent a messenger to *Hiacoomes*, who was with him about the break of day, and delivering his message, told him that he was come to pray him to go presently to *Myoxeo* the chief man of that place, and he should have a reward for his labour; for the Indians were very desirous to know from him all things that he knew, and did, in the wayes of God; so he being glad of the opportunity, went with the messenger, and when he came, there were many Indians gathered together, amongst which was *Towanquatick* the Sagamore; [p. 6.] then after many requests (the general whereof was this, that he would shew his heart unto them, how it stood towards God, and what they must do) he shewed unto them all things he knew concerning God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost; *Myoxeo* asking him how many Gods the English did worship, he answered one God, whereupon *Myoxeo* reckoned up about 37. principal gods he had, and shall I (said he) throw away these 37. gods for one? *Hiacoomes* replyed, what do you think of your self? I have throwne away all these, and a great many more some yeers ago, yet am preserved as you see this day; you speak true said *Myoxeo;* therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you. *Hiacoomes* told them all, he did fear this great God only, and also in a speciall manner that the Son of God did suffer death to satisfie the wrath of God his Father, for all those that did trust in him, and forsake their sinnes, and that the spirit of God did work these things in the hearts of men, and that himself did feare this great God only, was sorry for his sinnes, desiring to be redeemed by Iesus Christ, and to walk in Gods commandments; this, with many truths more he shewed unto them, As *Adams* transgression, and the misery of the world by it,

and did conclude, that if they had such hearts as he, they should have the same mercies. He reckoned up to them many of their sins, as having many gods, going to Pawwawes; and *Hiacoomes* told me himself, that this was the first time that ever he saw the Indians sensible of their sins; formerly they did but hear it as a new thing, but not so nearly concerning them, for they were exceeding thankful, saying, also *now we have seen our sins.* Thus it pleased the Lord to give both light and courage to this poore Indian; for although formerly he had been a harmlesse man amongst them, yet, as themselves say, not at all accounted of, and therefore they often wondered that he which had nothing to say in all their meetings formerly, is now become the Teacher of them all; I must needs give him this testimony, after some yeers experience of him, that he is a man of a sober spirit, and good conversation, and as he hath, as I hope, received the Lord Jesus Christ in truth, so also I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul and his neighbours with him.

Now, after these things it pleased God to move the heart of *Towanquatick*, encouraged by some others amongst them, to desire me to preach unto them. At my coming, this man spake thus unto [p. 7.] me; *That a long time agon they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge; but they are dead, and their wisdome is buried with them, and now men live a giddy life, in ignorance, till they are white headed, and though ripe in yeeres, yet then they go without wisdome to their graves.* He told me that he wondered the English should be almost thirty yeers in the Country and the Indians fools still; but he hoped the time of knowledge was now come; wherefore himself with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God to them in their own tongue; and when he came to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me *That I should be to them as one that stands by a running river filling many vessels*, even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge; So I undertook to give them a meeting once a moneth; but as soone as the first Exercise was ended, they desired it oftner then I could well attend it, but once in a fortnight in our setled course. He hath also since told me the reason why he desired me to preach to them, as that he was greatly desirous to have the Indians grow more in goodnesse, to have their posterity inherit blessings when he was dead; and himself was desirous to put the Word of God to his heart, to repent, and throw away his sins, and to be better, and after he was dead, to inherit a life in heaven.

Though I have written this passage to Mr. Winslow in my Letter to him, which is printed, yet it is not so full a story as here, and therfore I have added it.

Now there be three things in this beginning that were greatly inquired into. 1. Earthly riches, what they should get. 2. What

approbation they should get from other Sagamores and Governors. 3. How they should come off from the Pawwawes; but in neither of these could they finde that which might give motion to a carnal minde; for the first kept off many, I have had much discourse with several of them about it, wherein they have strongly stood for their own meetings, wayes and customes, being in their account more profitable then ours, wherein they meet with nothing but talking and praying. The second also remaines an obstacle, the Sagamores generally are against the way. The third is the strongest cord that binds them to their own way, for the Pawwawes by their witchcraft keep them in feare, many of the Indians got over the two first difficulties, and in some measure the third; now there were about twelve which came to the meeting as it were halting between two opinions, others came to hear and see what was done, for although they had heard and seen something of the one God of heaven, yet such was their unspeakable darknesse, [p. 8.] their captivity in sin, and bondage to the Pawwawes, that they hardly durst for feare take the best way, for though a few of them were better enlightned, yet the Heathen round about stuck fast in their old brutishnesse.

We had not long continued the meeting, but the Sagamore *Towanquatick* met with a sad tryal, for he being at a Weare where some Indians were a fishing, where also was an English man, as he lay along upon a matt on the ground asleep, by a little light fire, the night being very dark, an Indian came down, as being ready fitted for the purpose, and being about six or eight paces from him, let flie a broad headed arrow, purposing by all probability to drench the deadly arrow in his heart blood, but the Lord prevented it; for notwithstanding all the advantages he had, instead of the heart he hit the eye-brow, which like a brow of steele turned the point of the arrow, which, glancing away, slit the top of his nose to the bottome. A great stirre there was presently, the Sagamore sate up, and bled much, but was not much hurt through the mercy of God; the darknesse of the night hid the murtherer, and he is not discovered to this day. The next morning I went to see the Sagamore, and I found him praising God for his great deliverance, both himself and all the Indians, wondering that he was yet alive. The cause of his being shot, as the Indians said, was for his walking with the English; and it is also conceived, both by them and us, that his forwardnesse for the meeting was one thing, which (with the experience I have had of him since) gives me matter of strong perswasion that he beares in his brow the markes of the Lord Jesus. 1647.

This man when I was in the Iland I often saw and spake with, seeing also the skar upon his eye-brow and nose.

After this, through the mercy of God, we proceeded on with the meeting, to the rejoycing of some Indians, and the envie of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those that did follow the Lecture, and

in their way of wickednesse blaspheming the Name of God, which damped the spirits of some of them for a time in the wayes of God, and hindering others from looking thitherward, but the Lord gave courage and constancy to some of them, especially to *Hiacoomes* and *Towanquatick* who was hurt with the arrow, who were not ashamed of the way of God.

And hereupon they made farther progresse in the way of God, for without any knowledge thereof, they appointed a 1648. meeting, and there came some younger men, and brought with them the ancient men of their kindred and acquaintance to speak for them, whereof [p. 9.] the very old man that your self saw and heard at the meeting, was one, who began the meeting with a relation of the old customes of the ancient Heathen, preferring them before those wayes of their own they were now in, yet acknowledging they were farre inferior to those wayes of God they had now begun: Then twelve of the young men went and took *Sacochanimo* by the hand one by one and told him that they did love him, and would go with him in Gods way, and some of them made a long speech to him to this purpose; and the old men encouraged them in their way, & desired them never to forget those promises they had now made; then one of the young men told me the ground of their meeting, *viz.* They were sorry to see that the meeting did go on no more strongly, and that there were no more at it, and that they were desirous to strengthen themselves in the way of God, to have good hearts, and one heart, and to walk together in love in the wayes of God. So after they had eaten together the victuals of their own providing, and we had sung part of a Psalme in their own language, and I had prayed with them, they returned with the manifestation of much joy and thankfulnesse; and this I can say, they are generally constant in the way of God, and I have great hopes of some of them, blessed be his name.

Although I was present at this meeting from the beginning to the end, yet it was done without my privity or putting them on upon it, but it came meerly from themselvs.

This was Towanqueticks *eldest sonne.*

After this it pleased the Lord to stirre up the hearts of the Indians to appoint another meeting, and many Indians be- 1649. ing met, they fell to a great discourse about the Pawwawes power to kill men, and there were many stories told of the great hurt they had done by their witchcraft many wayes (here you must know, that though the Indians many of them were brought by the knowledge they had of God, to renounce the Pawwawes help in time of sicknesse or otherwise, yet they found it hard to get from under the yoake of cruelty that they and their forefathers had so long groaned under; for I know some, that then groaned under it, acknowledged they did see that in God which would free them from it, if they had but confidence to trust in him.)

Then the question was asked, Who is there that doth not fear the Pawwawes? answer was made by some who favoured them, there is not any man which is not afraid of the Pawwawes; then looking upon *Hiacoomes*, who was one that protested most against them, told him that the Pawwawes could kill him; he answered they could not; they asked him againe, why? he told them, because he did beleeve in God and trust in him, and that therefore all the Pawwaws could not do him any hurt; [p. 10.] Then they all wondered exceedingly when he spake thus so openly. Then divers of them said one by one, though before I was afraid of the Pawwawes, yet now, because I hear *Hiacoomes* his words, I do not fear them, but beleeve in God too. Then the meeting at this time was carried on, and *Hiacoomes* is desired by the Indians to reckon up their sins unto them; he presently found 45. or 50. and as many good duties; his work was very well liked, and in the conclusion twenty two Indians were found to resolve against those evils, and to walk with God, and attend the word of God. But I 1650. may not here forget an Indian called *Hummanequem*, who exceeded all the rest, to the wonderment of the Indians; he with much sorrow, hatred, and courage, related about twenty of his own sins, and professed to follow the one God against all opposition; He told them he was brought into this condition by *Hiacoomes* his counsel from the Word of God, which at first he said he liked not, afterwayes laid it by him as a thing to be considered, not knowing well what to do; at last, looking over things again, he came to this resolution which you have now heard; I confesse this action makes me think he spake more then from a natural principle, considering that the man hath been since an earnest seeker of more light both publike and private; as also for refusing the help of a Pawwaw which lives within a bow shoot of his doore, when his wife was three dayes in travel, and waited patiently upon God, till they obtained a merciful deliverance by prayer.

And whilst we were making progresse in the work of the Lord on a Lecture day, an Indian stood up, and said he had been a sinner, and committed many evill things, but now was sorry for them, and did repent, desired to forsake his sins, and to walk in Gods way. Then he went to the Sagamore *Towanquetick*, and took him by the hand, saying, *I do love you, and do greatly desire to go along with you for Gods sake;* the like also he said to some others, and then came to me in like manner, saying, *I pray love me, and I do love you, and am desirous to go with you for Gods sake*; so he was received with many thanks, and since I know him to be diligent and laborious. I confesse I marvelled to see them act with such a spirit, but I considered, it was sutable to their own meeting in 48.

Now the Indian accompanied his friend that suddenly lost his two

sons; he I say remaining still in his obstinacy, is also found out, and feeles the wrath of God, being stricken with a dead Palsie, all one [p. 11.] side of him, but his eye and eare; The dead Palsie is a strange and unwonted disease amongst the Indians; I have beene sometimes with him; when I spake to him, he fetched many sighs; he is at this day a living and a dead monument of the Lords displeasure, having hurt himself most, and done them most good he hated.

Another thing is a remarkable combate between two Indians and a Pawwaw, who, on the Lords day after meeting, came in very angry, saying, I know the meeting Indians are lyars; you say you care not for the Pawwawes; then calling two or three of them by name, and railing at them, told them that they were deceived, for the Pawwawes could kill all the meeting Indians if they did set about it; with that one of the young men replyed with much courage, saying, it is true, I do not fear the Pawwawes, neither do I desire any favour at their hands, pray kill me if you can. And *Hiacoomes* told him also that he would be in the midst of all the Pawwawes of the Iland that they could procure, and they should do their utmost they could against him, and when they did their worst by their witchcrafts to kill him, he would without feare set himself against them, by remembring *Jehovah;* he told him also that he did put all the Pawwawes under his heel, pointing unto it; which answers did presently silence the Pawwawes devillish spirit, and he had nothing to say, but that none but *Hiacoomes* was able so to do.

I have observed the wise disposing hand of God in another Providence of his; there have not as I know, any man, woman or child died of the meeting Indians since the meeting began, untill now of late the Lord took away *Hiacoomes* his child which was about five dayes old; he was best able to make a good use of it, and to carry himself well in it, and so was his wife also; and truly they gave an excellent example in this also, as they have in other things; here were no black faces for it as the manner of the Indians is, nor goods buried with it, nor hellish howlings over the dead, but a patient resigning of it to him that gave it; There were some English at the burial, and many Indians to whom I spake something of the Resurrection, and as we were going away, one of the Indians told me he was much refreshed in being freed from their old customes, as also to hear of the Resurrection of good men and their children to be with God.

There are now by the grace of God thirty nine Indian men of [p. 12.] this meeting, besides women that are looking this way, which we suppose to exceed the number of the men, though not known by open entrance into Covenant as the men, but are now near it. These in general have the knowledge of the fundamental

points of Religion; your self when you were with us, had some tryal of it; it was a great while my maine work to administer light in general to them; and there now, through mercy, appears some life, hoping that some of them have received this great mercy of God in Christ. This is a great incouragement to me, as also that their hearts are engaged in the way of the Lord for the salvation of their own souls upon Gods ends. One of these meeting Indians said (and I hope feelingly) that if all the world, the riches, plenty, and pleasures of it were presented without God, or God without all these, I would take God. And another said, that if the greatest Sagamore in the Land should take him in his armes, and proffer him his love, and riches and gifts to turn from his way, he would not go with him from this way of God. I heard one of them of his own accord (and to the same purpose) in complaining against head knowledge and lip prayers, without heart holinesse, loathing the condition of such a man, saying, I desire my heart may taste the word of God, repent of my sinnes, and leane upon the Redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ. Some of them having a discourse with *Vzzamequin* a great Sachem or Governour on the maine Land (coming amongst them) about the wayes of God, he enquired what earthly good things came along with them, and demanding of them what they had gotten by all they had done this way? one of them replyed, we serve not God for cloathing, nor for any outward thing. I have observed many such like passages; but my occasions at present will not permit me to set them down, I only bring you those things which are most ready in my minde.

The last thing that I took special notice of, is, the receiving of the five men when your self was present, into the meeting Indian number, one of them (the young man you saw) was sent at first about two or three months before by one of the greatest Pawwawes upon the Iland to learn and spy what was done at the meeting, and carry him word, but at the last he learned so much as he then openly profest to hate the Pawwawes and their witchcrafts, and that he did repent of his sinnes, and desired to go with the meeting Indians in Gods ways; another said he desired to joyn with the meeting Indians that he might have a renewed good heart, the [p. 13.] other were much like affected, only one of them reckoned up the commandments, and as he proceeded he protested against the sins forbidden, and professed obedience to the duties commanded; the last answered the question put to him by your self, *viz.* by what power they did think to do this? who answered, First, by his good desire; and secondly, by the help and blessing of Jesus Christ.

Just now whilst I am a writing, there comes an Indian unto me, and tels me his minde in these words, I shall long for your returne back again out of the Bay, that we may hear the good word of God; the former sins of my heart in the time of my youth I now remem-

ber; when I hear the word of God, and when I walk in the woods alone, I have much talk with God, and great repentance for my sins, and now I throw behind me all my strange gods, and my heart goes right to God in prayer.

The way that I am now in (through the grace of God) for the carrying on of this great work, is by a Lecture every fortnight, whereunto both men women and children do come; and first I pray with them, teach them, chatechise their children, sing a Psalm, and all in their own language. I conferre every last day of the week with *Hiacoomes* about his subject matter of preaching to the Indians the next day, where I furnish him with what spiritual food the Lord is pleased to afford me for them, wherein God hath much assisted him for his own and their spiritual good and advantage, who is diligent and conscionable to hold forth the grace of Christ to the Indians. For this purpose your fervent and frequent prayers together with all those who rejoyce in advancing the Scepter of Christ, are by me earnestly desired, and for me that I may preach him amongst the Heathen, to the praise of the excellency of his own power, and not mine; and that the Indians in this small beginning, being Gods husbandry, and Gods building, may be a fruitful glorious spreading Vine, and builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit, unto whom I commend you in Jesus, and in him rest

From Great Harbor
in Martins *Vineyard*
Sept. 7. 1650.

Yours in the Lord to be commanded,

Thomas Mayhow.

[p. 14.] *Now to speak somewhat farther of the proceeding of the things of Christ amongst the Indians of* Mattacusets *and thereabouts since the last books came forth; Somewhat I saw and understood concerning those Indians which are under the care of Mr.* Eliot, *unto whom I repaired at my coming from* Martins Vineyard, *who acquainted me with the state of things amongst the Indians as they were at present; at which time I rode with him to the* Watertown *Indians, and heard him preach to them, and catechize their children in the Indian tongue; who wrote also by me to Mr.* Winslow, *the Agent of the Countrey; which Letter, together with some other sent since the last publication by the Presse, the Corporation of* New England *desired me that they might be joyned and printed with this written by Master* Mahu; *which letters here follow.*

Much honoured Sir,

YOur very loving acceptance of my Letters doth engage me very much unto you, but especially your cordial rejoycing in the progresse of this work of the Lord among these poor Indians. Sir, I shall first answer some material things in your Letter. First, for that opinion of *Rabbi-ben-Israel* which you mention, I would intreat you to request the same godly Minister (nay I hope he hath already done it) to send to him to know his grounds, and how he came to that Intelligence, when was it done, which way were they transported into *America*, by whom, and what occasion, how many, and to what Parts first, or what steps of intimation of such a thing may there be. I had some thoughts in my heart to search the Original of this People, that I might finde under what Covenant and Promise their fore-fathers have been, for the help of my faith; for *Jehovah* remembers and giveth being to ancient Promises. What had become of us sonnes of *Japhet*, if the Lord had not remembred that (and such like ancient Promises) *God shall perswade* Japhet *to dwell in the tents of* Shem. If these people be under a Covenant and Promise as ancient as *Shem* and *Eber*, it is a ground of faith to expect mercy for them.

Now this I have thought, that it seemeth to me as clear in the Scripture, that these are the children of *Shem* as we of *Japhet*, and *Shem* was a great man in the Church, and to whom *Abraham* paid *Tythes*; for I beleeve he was *Melchisedeck*! yea it seemeth to me probable that these people are Hebrews, of *Eber*, whose sonnes the [p. 15.] Scripture sends farthest East (as it seemeth to me) and learned *Broughton* put some of them over into *America*, and certainly this Country was peopled Eastward from the place of the *Arks* resting, seeing the finding of them by the West is but of yesterday: Now *Eber* was also a great man in the Church; *Abraham* the Hebrew, saith the text; and how often in the Scriptures doth the Lord use that blessed word of *Grace* and *Covenant*, *I am the God of the Hebrewes?* besides there be sundry Prophesies in Scripture, *unto the goings down of the Sunne*; and let it be considered whether *America* be not to be accounted among the places that are the goings down of the Sunne unto those places where those Promises were promulgated; And when the Lord inlarged the Promise to *Jacob* (as the light and extent of grace hath ever been encreasing and enlarging) he promised to make him a Nation and a multitude of Nations, which so farre as we regard a litteral accomplishment, is in part accomplisht in the Nation of the Jewes, and the other part remaineth (as it may seem) to be accomplisht in the lost Israelites scattered in the world, principally, if not

Gen. 10.

wholly, amongst the sons of *Japhet* and *Shem*; and our God who can and will gather the scattered and lost dust of our bodies at the Resurrection, can and will finde out these lost and scattered Israelites, and in finding up them, bring in with them the Nations among whom they were scattered, and so shall *Jacobs* Promise extend to a multitude of Nations indeed; and this is a great ground of faith for the conversion of the Easterne Nations, and may be of help to our faith for these Indians; especially if *Rabbi-Ben-Israel* can make it appeare that some of the Israelites were brought into *America*, and scattered here, or if the Lord shall by any meanes give us to understand the same.

These meditations upon Scripture grounds do minister comfort & encouragement to my heart with others also, as, *That all Languages shall see his Glory, and that all Nations and Kingdoms shall become the Kingdoms of the Lord Iesus*; and this I desire to do, to look unto Scripture grounds only; *Oh this precious this perfect Word of God*! You intimate also how zealously worthy Mr. *Owen* did prosecute this work; the Lord reward him, and the Lord accept him in all his holy labours. Likewise you intimate how acceptable this work is to the Parliament, that blessed Assembly, whom the Lord Christ hath delighted to make instrumental to begin to set up the longed for, prayed for, and desired Kingdome of the Lord [p. 16.] Jesus; for we may see in some measure the accomplishment of that prophesie of Christ, *Luke* 21. 25. The peaceable summer beginning to arise out of these distressed times of perplexity, all those signes preceding the glorious coming of Christ are accomplishing, and a thick black cloud is gathered, a cloud of blood, confusion, Heresies and Errors, and the thickest and most portentous black part of that cloud is the Toleration of the most grosse and convicted impieties under the pretence of conscience, which misapplication of the Sword of Authority (if it should awhile prevaile) cannot be innocent, and will undoubtedly prolong the storme and delay of the reigne of Christ; But notwithstanding all this black cloud, who seeth not the glorious coming of the Lord Jesus breaking through this cloud, and coming with power and great glory? He is King of Kings and reigneth over Kings; for where Justice reignes, Christ doth reigne; and that Antichristian principle for man to be above God, whether the Pope in the Church, or Monarches in the Common-wealth, is thrown to the ground. He that is above the Law, is above the Word; and he that is above the Word, is above Christ; Christ reigneth not over such as be above his Law: But behold, now Christ reigneth, and gloriously breaks forth in the brightnesse of his coming, and will in his time scatter all this thick black cloud, yea the thickest of it. Now this glorious work of bringing in and setting up the glorious kingdome of Christ, hath the Lord of his free grace and mercy put into the hands of this re-

nowned Parliament and Army; Lord put it into all their hearts to make this designe of Christ their main first and chiefest endeavour, according to the Word, *Seek first the kingdom of heaven and the righteousnesse thereof, and all other things shall be added.* And when the Lord Jesus is about to set up his blessed Kingdome among these poore Indians also, how well doth it become the spirit of such instruments in the hand of Christ to promote that work also, being the same businesse in some respect which themselves are about by the good hand of the Lord.

Surely Sir, your chief work of this nature now is to follow this Indian work which sticks in the birth for want of means. You would marvel if I should tell you how they long to come into a way of civility by co-habitation, and by forming government among themselves, that so they being in such order might have a Church and the Ordinances of Christ among them; but want of a Magazine of all sorts of tools and materials for such a work, is the present impediment.

[p. 17.] The Lord is wiser then man, and his time is best; I will not say any thing now for farther direction about what is requisite for the work which the Lord is preparing their hearts unto; my former Letters have said enough that way, partly to you, and partly to Mr. *Pelham*, whose Letters I hope you have seen as containing sundry things necessary for your view; and I doubt not but your wisdome will readily adde what is lacking in what I have projected; only let me say this, that I dayly still see more evidence that that is the very way which the Lord would have us take at present.

Let me, I beseech you, trouble you a little farther with some considerations about this great Indian work which lyeth upon me, as my continual care, prayer, desire and endeavour to carry on, namely for their schooling and education of youth in learning, which is a principal means for promoting of it for future times; If the Lord bring us to live in a Towne and Society, we must have special care to have Schools for the instruction of the youth in reading, that they may be able to read the Scriptures at least. And therefore there must be some Annual revenew for the maintaining of such Schoolmasters and Dames; Besides, I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire, and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little leasure to attend it by reason of my continual attendance on my Ministry in our own Church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence; and all this is chargable; therefore I look at that as a special matter

on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it. I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my Ministry in our Church whereby my family is sustained to attend the Indians to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing, nor have they any thing to give: so that want of money is the only thing in view that doth retard a more full prosecution of this work unto which the Lord doth ripen them apace.

Moreover, there be sundry prompt, pregnant witted youths, not vitiously inclined, but well disposed, which I desire may be wholly [p. 18.] sequestred to learning and put to Schoole for that purpose, had we means; and I suppose ten pounds *per Annum* to be paid in *England*, will maintaine one Indian youth at Schoole, and halfe ascore such Gifts or Annuities would by the blessing of God greatly further this work so farre as concerns that particular.

I had thought to have set down some of their Questions, wherby you might perceive how these dry bones begin to gather flesh and sinnews; but partly I have them not ready, for I have not leasure to set them down at present, and they soone slip my memory, and I did it in all my last Letters, and may do it again, if the Lord will, hereafter. And therefore thus much at present, being cald off to hasten to seale up my Letters, the Lord Jesus blesse you sanctifie and keep you in all your labours and travels, and accept you, and all your works, and return you again unto us in due season here to see Gods blessing with your eyes upon those poore souls, for whose sakes you have laboured, and the Lord supply your absense to all yours; and so commending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace which is able to sanctifie and save you, I rest

Roxburg, this 8.
of the 5. 49.

Your Brother and
fellow labourer for the good
of the poor Indians.

JOHN ELIOT.

Worthy and much esteemed in the Lord.

IT is no small encouragement unto my spirit, not only to go on unweariably in this enterprize which the Lord hath set my heart upon, but also to expect a great blessing therein; only I must intimate two *Redundances*, one is *page* 8. where there is a great (I) redundant which maketh the sence untrue; but if left out, the sence is both good and true; for (*I*) was not the Nominative case or efficient of that Verb, or Act of intreating Mr. *Mahu* to teach them,

but it was the Indians Act, and so I said, and so is the sence if that (great I) be left out. A second *Redundancie* is *page* 17. (though misfigured and no matter) where you put the title of *Evangelist* upon me, which all men take, and you seeme to put it for that extraordinary [p. 19.] office mentioned in the *New Testament*; I do beseech you to suppresse all such things, if ever you should have occasion of doing the like; let us speak and do, and carry all things with all humility; it is the Lord who hath done what is done, and it is most becoming the spirit of Jesus Christ to lift up Christ, and our selves lie low; I wish that that word could be obliterated if any of the books remain.

Now seeing it is so great a comfort to you to hear how the Lord is pleased to carry on this work, I shall relate unto you some passages, whereby you may see in what frame they be; I had, and still have, a great desire to go to a great fishing place, *Namaske* upon *Merimak*; and because the Indians way lyeth beyond the great River which we cannot passe with our horses, nor can we well go to it on this side the river, unlesse we go by *Nashaway*, which is about, and bad way, unbeaten, the Indians not using that way; I therefore hired a hardy man of *Nashaway* to beat out a way and to mark trees, so that he may Pilot me thither in the spring, and he hired Indians with him and did it; and in the way passed through a great people called *Sowahagen Indians*, some of which had heard me at *Pautuket* and at *Nashaway*, and had carried home such tydings, that they were generally stirred with a desire that I would come and teach them; and when they saw a man come to cut out a way for me that way, they were very glad; and when he told them I intended to come that way the next spring, they seemed to him full of joy, and made him very welcome. But in the Spring, when I should have gone, I was not well, it being a very sickly time, so that I saw the Lord prevented me of that journey; yet when I went to *Pautuket* another fishing place, where from all parts about they met together, thither came divers of these *Sowahegen* Indians, and heard me teach, and I had conference with them; and among other things, I asked whether *Sowahegen* Indians were desirous to pray to God; they answered; yea, I asked how many desired it; they answered *wamu*, that is, *All*, and with such affection as did much affect those Christian men that I had with me in company.

The chief *Sachim* of this place *Pautuket*, and of all *Mermak* is *Papassaconnoway*, whom I mentioned unto you the last yeere, who gave up himself and his sonnes to pray unto God, this man did this yeer shew very great affection to me, and to the Word of God; he did exceeding earnestly, importunately invite me to come and live there and teach them; he used many arguments, many whereof [p. 20.] I have forgotten: but this was one, *that my com-*

ing thither but once in a yeere, did them but little good, because they soone had forgotten what I taught, it being so seldome, and so long betwixt the times; further he said, *That he had many men, and of them many nought, and would not beleeve him that praying to God was so good, but if I would come and teach them, he hoped they would beleeve me*; He farther added, that I did, *as if one should come and throw a fine thing among them, and they earnestly catch at it, and like it well, because it looks finely, but they cannot look into it to see what is within it, and what it is within, they cannot tell whether something or nothing, it may be a stock or a stone is within it, or it may be a precious thing; but if it be opened, and they see what is within it, and see it precious, then they should beleeve it* (so said he) *you tell us of praying to God,* (for so they call all Religion) *and we like it well at the first sight, and we know not what it is within, it may be excellent, or it may be nothing, we cannot tell, but if you would come unto us, and open it unto us, and shew us what it is within, then we should beleeve that it is so excellent as you say, when we see it opened*; Such elegant arguments as these did he use, with much gravity, wisdome and affection; and truly my heart much yearneth towards them, and I have a great desire to make our Indian Towne that way; yet the Lord by the Eye of Providence seemeth not to look thither, partly because there is not a competent place of due encouragement for subsistence; which would spoyle the work; and partly because our Indians which are our first and chief materials in present view, are loth to go Northward, though they say they will go with me any whether; but it concerneth me much not to lead them into temptation of scarcity, cold and want, which may damp the progresse of the Gospel; but I rather think where ever I begin the first Towne, (if I live) I must begin more townes then one, or oh that the Lord would raise up more and more fit labourers into this harvest.

Another Indian, who lived remote another way, asked me if I had any children? I answered yea; he asked how many? I said sixe; he asked how many of them were sonnes? I told him five; then he asked whether my sonnes should teach the Indians to know God as I do? at which question I was much moved in my heart, for I have often in my prayers dedicated all my sonnes unto the Lord to serve him in this service, if he will please to accept them therein; and my purpose is to do my uttermost to traine them up in learning, whereby they may be fitted in the best manner I can to serve the [p. 21.] Lord herein, and better preferment I desire not for them then to serve the Lord in this travel; and to that purpose I answered him, and my answer seemed to be well pleasing to them, which seemed to minister to my heart some encouragement, that the Lords meaning was to improve them that way, and he would prepare their hearts to accept the same.

There is another aged *Sachem* at *Quabagud* threescore miles Westward, and he doth greatly desire that I would come thither and teach them, and live there; and I made a journey thither this summer, and I went by *Nashaway*; but it so fell out that there were some stirres betwixt the *Nazaganset* and *Monahegen* Indians, some murder committed, &c. which made our Church doubtful at first of my going, which when the *Nashaway Sachem* heard, he commanded twenty armed men (after their manner) to be ready, and himself with these twenty men; besides sundry of our neer Indians went along with me to guard me, but I took some English along with me also, so that hereby their good affection is manifested to me, and to the work I have in hand; here also I found sundry hungry after instruction, but it pleased God to exercise us with such tedious raine, and bad weather, that we were extreme wet, insomuch that I was not dry night nor day from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockins, and on with them again, and so continued; the rivers also were raised, so as that we were wet in riding through; but that which added to my affliction was, my horse tyred, so that I was forced to let my horse go empty, and ride on one of the mens horses which I took along with me, yet God stept in and helped; I considered that word of God, 2 *Tim.* 2, 3. *Endure hardship as a good Souldier of Christ*; with many other such like meditations, which I think not meet to mention now. And I thank the Lord, neither I nor my company took any hurt, but the Lord brought us in safety and health home again.

Because, both Mr. *Pelham* and your self do so heartily, and with such good affection send commendations and greetings unto our Indians which pray unto God, I will tell you what a good occasion was ministred unto me, through the goodnesse of God, by a question which one of them propounded the next meeting (as I remember) after I had received my Letters, and I must first tell you the occasion of the question.

There had been at that time some strange Indians among them [p. 22.] which came to see them who prayed to God, as one from *Martins Vineyard*, who is helpful to Mr. *Mahu* to tell him words, &c. and I think some others, *when those strangers came*, and they perceived them to *affect Religion*, and had mutual conference about the same, there was very great *gladnesse of heart* among them, and they made these strangers exceeding welcome; Hereupon did the Question arise, namely what is the reason, that when a strange Indian comes among us whom we never saw before, *yet if he pray unto God, we do exceedingly love him: But if my own Brother, dwelling a great way off, come unto us, he not praying to God, though we love him, yet nothing so as we love that other stranger who doth pray unto God.*

This question did so clearly demonstrate that which the Scripture calleth *love of the Brethren*, that I thought it was useful; first, to try others of them, whether they found the same in their hearts; I therefore asked them, how they found it in their hearts? And they answered, that they all found it so in their hearts, and that it had been a matter of discourse among themselves, *wondring at it, what the reason of it should be*, which was no small comfort and encouragement unto my spirit; Then in my answer I asked them what should be the reason that the gody people in *England*, 3000. miles off, who never saw them, yet hearing that they pray to God, do exceedingly rejoyce at it, and love them, and send them tokens of their love, and then I reckoned up what had been sent them, and mentioned some names to them, and farther told them that their love was so great unto them, that they would send them over a great deale more; and in special, I hoped they would send us such materials as be requisite to make a Towne, and mentioned some such things as I have named in the Catalogue I sent to you, and asked them if they could tell the reason of it; they answered no; this being the same with their question; and then I shewed the unity of spirit, &c. And thus you see the occasion and way of communicating the good will and love of the Saints in *England*, unto them, so as that they might taste a spiritual blessing, and finde some edification of their souls by those outward blessings which they received. And whereas some, (as I am informed) who came from us to *England*, are no better friends to this work then they should, and may speak slightly of it: I do intreat that such may be asked but this question; Did they so much regard to look after it here, as to go three or four miles to some of [p. 23.] our meetings, and to observe what was said and done there? if not, how can they tell how things be? if they say they were, I desire to know what they except against? If they say the Indians be all nought because such as come loytering and filtching about in our Townes are so; Wish them to consider how unequal that judgment is, if all the English should be judged by the worst of them; and any should say they be all such, this were to condemne the righteous with the wicked. Had I leasure, I would insert a few more of their questions, that you might perceive how flesh and sinewes begin to gather upon these dry bones; but I cannot at this time attend it; the present work of God among them is to gather them together to bring them to Political life, both in Ecclesiastical society and in Civil, for which they earnestly long and enquire, and some aged ones say, *Oh that God would let me live to see that day*; I allude to that in *Ezekiel*, not because I have any light to perswade me these are that people there mentioned, only they be dry and scattered bones, if any be in the world; and the work of God upon all such dry bones I beleeve will be in many things *Symmet-*

ricall; But the work of the day is to civilize them, and it will be very chargeable, and because in your Letters to Mr. *Cotton*, you desired that he and I should speak with the Commissioners what was fitting to send over for this work, we could not speak with the Commissioners of other Colonies, nor write to have any seasonable return, nor could we communicate the state of the businesse unto them, but what was feasible we have done.

Now dear Sir, it may be you will desire to know what kinde of Civil Government they shall be instructed in; I acknowledge it to be a very weighty consideration; and I have advised with Mr. *Cotton* and others about it, and this I propound as my general rule through the help of the Lord; they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Law-giver, the Lord shall be their Judge, the Lord shall be their King, and he will save them; and when it is so the Lord reigneth, and unto that frame the Lord will bring all the world ere he hath done, but it will be more difficult in other Nations who have been adulterate with their *Antichristian* or humane wisdome; they will be loth to lay downe their imperfect own Star-light of excellent Lawes, in their conceits, for the perfect Sun-light of the Scripture, which through blindnesse they cannot see.

[p. 24.] *England* long since had happy experience of it, and it is often in my heart to desire they would pitch there in this present great change they are about; this is certaine, that all formes and Lawes of mans invention will shake, be unsetled; and many will doubt of subjecting to any way man can devise; and they will never rest till they come up to the Scriptures, and when they produce Scripture grounds for all they do, it will answer and satisfie all godly consciences, and awe the rest, and stop their mouths unlesse they will cavill against divine wisdome. It is the very reason why the Lord in this houre of temptation will bring Nations into distresse and perplexity, that so they may be forced to the Scriptures; the light whereof hath sole authority to extricate them out of their deep perplexities; and therefore all Governments are and will be shaken, that men may be forced to pitch upon the firme and unshaken foundation, *the Word of God;* this is doubtlesse the great designe of Christ in these later dayes; Oh that mens eyes were open to see it, and when the world is brought into this frame, then Christ reigneth; and when this is, Government shall be in the hands of the Saints of the most high.

But I forget my self; this is not my present work, it is my desire and prayer; my work is to endeavour the setting up Christ Kingdome among the Indians.

Sir, you tell me of one that will publish reasons to prove (at least) some of the ten Tribes are in *America*, it would be glad ty-

dings to my heart; and when Mr. *Dudley* heard of it, he said that Captaine *Cromwell*, who lately dyed at *Boston* told him that he saw many Indians to the Southward Circumcised, and that he was oft conversant among them, and saw it with his eyes, and was undoubtedly certaine of it; this is Captaine *Cromwels* testimony, and it seemeth to be one of the most probable arguments that ever I yet heard of; unlesse the Lord shall please to clear it up that they are some of those dry bones which *Ezekiel* speaketh of.

Mr. *Mahew*, who putteth his hand unto this Plough at *Martins Vineyard*, being young, and a beginner here, hath extreme want of books; he needeth *Commentaries* and *Common Places* for the body of Divinity, that so he might be well grounded and principled; if therefore the Lord bring any meanes into your hand, I desire you would (by the help of some godly Divine) send him over such books as may be necessary for a young Scholer; I will name no books, he needs all; I beseech you put some weight upon it, for I desire [p. 25.] he might be furnished in that kinde, and other supplies will be needful for him.

And for my self I have this request (who also am short enough in books) that I might be helped to purchase my brother *Weld* his books, the summe of the purchase (34 li.) I am loth they should come back to *England* when we have so much need of them here, and without ready money there I cannot have them; if therefore so much money might be disbursed for me, it would be a blessing to me, but it is on condition that all his books here be comprehended, else I will not give so much for them.

One thing more I shall mention, *viz.* if the work go on, and you send us means, then this may be considerable, which some have advised me, whether it might not be good to send me over a Carpenter or two young men-servants; but if you should approve it, I desire they may be godly, and well conditioned, of a good spirit, for they must be imployed among the Indians, and if they should be naught, and of an ill disposition they might do a great deal of hurt, but if they be honest & meek and well spirited, it may be a great furtherance of the work, I wholly leave it to your wisdom.

Having some leasure by the Ships delay I will insert a few questions which they have propounded. *viz.*

If a man know Gods Word, but beleeve it not; and he teach others, is that good teaching? and if others beleeve that which he teacheth, is that good beleeving, or faith? upon this question I asked them, how they could tell when a man knoweth Gods Word that he doth not beleeve it? They answered me, *When he doth not do in his practice answerable to that which he knoweth.*

If I teach on the Sabbath that which you have taught us, and for-

get some, Is that a sin? and some I mistake and teach wrong, Is that a sin?

Do all evill thoughts come from the Devill, and all good ones from God?

What is watchfulnesse?

How shall I finde happinesse?

What should I pray for at night, and what at morning, and what on the Sabbath day?

What is true Repentance, or how shall I know when this is true?

How must I wait on God?

[p. 26.] *Shall we see Christ at the day of Judgment?*

Can we see God?

When I pray for a soft heart, why is it still hard?

Can one be saved by reading the book of the creature? This question was made when I taught them, That God gave us two books, and that in the book of the creature, every creature was a word or sentence, &c.

You said God promised Moses *to go with him, how doth he go with us?*

When such die as never heard of Christ, whether do they go?

When the wicked die, do they first go to heaven to the judgment seate of Christ to be judged, and then go away to hell?

What is the meaning of the word Hebrews?

Why doth God say, I am the God of the Hebrews?

When Christ arose, whence came his soul? When I answered from heaven; It was replied, *How then was Christ punished in our stead? Or when did he suffer in our stead, afore death, or after?*

When I pray every day, why is my heart so hard still, even as a stone?

How doth God arise, and we worship at his feet, what meaneth it? This was when I preached out of *Psal.* 132.

Why did they eate the Passeover, with loynes girt, and shooes on their feet?

What meaneth, arise O Lord into thy resting place?

What meaneth, hunger and thirst after righteousnesse, and the blessed?

What meaneth, thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbours?

If one purposeth to pray, and yet dieth before that time, whether goeth his soul?

If I teach on the Sabbath something that some other Englishman taught me, the Indians do not like it, if it be not that which you have taught, is this well?

Why must we be like Salt?

If I do not love wicked men, nor good men, am I good?

What meaneth that, love enemies and wicked men?

Doth God know who shall repent, and beleeve, and who not?

When I answered in the affirmative, then it was replyed, *Why then did God use so much meanes with* Pharaoh ?

What meaneth that his wife shall be like a Vine, and his children like young plants ?

[p. 27.] *What meaneth, that blessed are they that mourn ?*

When I see a good example, and know that it is right, why do I not do the same ?

What meaneth lifting up hands to God ?

What anger is good, and what is bad ?

Do they dwell in severall houses in heaven, or altogether, and what do they ?

How do you know what is done in heaven ?

If a child die before he sinne, whether goeth his soul ? By this question, it did please the Lord, clearly to convince them of original sin, blessed be his name.

If one that prayes to God, sins like him that prayes not, is not he worse ? And while they discoursed of this point, and about hating of wicked persons one of them shut it up with this, *They must love the man and do him good, but hate his sin.*

Why do Englishmen so eagerly kill all snakes ?

May a man have good words and deeds and a bad heart, and another have bad words and deeds, and yet a good heart ?

What is it to eate Christ his flesh and drink his blood, what meaneth it ?

What meaneth a new heaven and a new earth ?

Much honoured and respected in the Lord Jesus.

YOur faithful and unwearied paines about the Lords work for the good of his dear children here, and for the furtherance of the kingdome of Christ among these poor Indians, shall doubtlesse be had in remembrance before the Lord, not through merit, but mercie.

By former Letters sent by Mr. *Saltonstall*; I informed you of the present state of the Indian work, and though I might adde farther matters, yet I shal forbear, only this, still they continue constant, and earnestly desire to set upon the way of cohabitation & prepare for their enjoyment of that great blessing to gather a Church of Christ among them; and since the writing of my last a *Nipnet Sachem* hath submitted himself to pray unto the Lord, and much desireth [p. 28.] one of our chief ones to live with him and teach him and those that are with him.

You wrote (I thank you) much encouraging to lose no time, and follow the work, though I borrow materials, but I durst not do so,

the work is great, as I informed you in my former Letters; and I fear, lest it should discourage you, nor would I be too hasty to run before the Lord do clearly (by Scripture rules) say go; nor on the other side would I hold them too long in suspence, there may be weaknesse that way to their discouragement, but it is the Lords work, and he is infinite in wisdome, and he will suit the work in such a time and place as shall best attain his appointed ends and his great glory.

Touching the way of their Government, I also intimated the purpose of my heart, that I intend to direct them according as the Lord shall please to help and assist to set up the Kingdome of Jesus Christ fully, so that Christ shall reigne both in Church and Commonwealth, both in Civil and Spiritual matters; we will (through his grace) fly to the Scriptures, for every Law, Rule, Direction, Form, or what ever we do. And when every thing both Civil & Spiritual are done by the direction of the word of Christ, then doth Christ reigne, and the great Kingdome of Jesus Christ which we weight for, is even this that I do now mention; and by this means all Kingdomes and Nations shall become the Kingdomes of Christ, because he shall rule them in all things by his holy word; humane wisdome in learned Nations will be loth to yeeld to Christ so farre, much lesse will Princes and Monarches readily yeeld so farre to stoop to Christ, and therefore the Lord will shake all Nations, and put them into distresse and perplexity, and in the conclusion they will be glad to stoop to Christ. But as for these poore Indians they have no principles of their own, nor yet wisdome of their own (I meane as other Nations have) wherein to stick; and therefore they do most readily yeeld to any direction from the Lord, so that there will be no such opposition against the rising Kingdome of Jesus Christ among them; yet I foresee a cloud of difficulties in the work, and much obscurity and trouble in some such respects, as I think not meet to mention, only by faith I do see through this cloud: I beleeve the faithful promises of Christ shall be accomplisht among them, and the Lord Jesus shall reigne over them gloriously, *Oh my heart yearneth over distressed perplexed England*, and my continual prayer unto the Lord for them is, that he would be pleased to open their hearts and eyes, and let them see [p. 29.] their opportunity to let in Christ, and to advance his Kingdome over them; yea, my hope is, that he will not leave tampering with them untill he hath brought it to passe; Oh the blessed day in *England* when the Word of God shall be their *Magna Charta* and chief Law Book; and when all Lawyers must be Divines to study the Scriptures; and should the Gentile Nations take up *Moses* policie so farre as it is morall and conscionable, make the Scriptures the foundation of all their Lawes, who knoweth what a door would be opened to the Jewes to come in to Christ; I wrote likewise by my last to intreat for some encour-

agement to Master *Mahu* who preacheth to the Indians, and that some monies may be laid out in books for him; for young Scholars in *New-England* are very poor in books, as he is in extreme want.

Dear Sir,

Be helpful in prayer to our work, and above all gatherings, gather prayers; I mean, put the Saints in minde that they pray much about it, as they do both there and here.

Truly Sir,

The spirit of prayer that is daily going about this matter, is a very great encouragement for all our meetings, through mercie, ring of it; I would intimate some more questions which they have propounded since my last, for they are fruitful that way, but partly I fear I shall want time, yet my heart saies, it may comfort you, and therefore I will set down a few, so many as I have noted down since my last.

If but one parent beleeve, what state are our children in?

How doth much sinne make grace abound? I having made use of that Text.

If so old a man as I repent, may I be saved? The wisdome of God drew forth this question next to interpret the former.

When we come to beleeve, how many of our children doth God take with us, whether all only young ones, or at what age?

What meaneth that, Let the trees of the Wood rejoyce?

What meaneth that, That the Master doth not thank his servant for waiting on him?

What meaneth that, We cannot serve two masters?

Can they in Heaven see us here on Earth?

Do they see and know each other? Shall I know you in heaven?

Do they know each other in Hell?

When English-men choose Magistrates and Ministers, how do they [p. 30.] *know who be good men that they dare trust?*

Seeing the body sinneth, why should the soule be punished, and what punishment shall the body have?

If all the world be burnt up, where shall hell be?

What is it to beleeve in Christ?

What meaneth, that Christ meriteth eternal life for us?

What meaneth that, Covet not thy neighbours house, &c?

What meaneth that, The woman brought to Christ a box of Oyle, and washt his feet with tears, &c?

What meaneth that of the two debtors, one oweth much, another but little?

If a wicked man prayeth, and teacheth, doth God accept, or what saies God?

At what age may maids marry?

If a man be wise, and his Sachem *weak must he yet obey him?*

We are commanded to honour the Sachem, *but is the* Sachem *commanded to love us?*

When all the world shall be burnt up, what shall be in the roome of it; an old womans question yester day?

What meaneth God, when he sayes, yee shall be my Jewels? This was asked from my text last time, *Exod.* 19. 5. for so I rendred the word peculiar treasure.

You may perceive many of the questions arise out of such texts as I handle, and I do endeavour to communicate as much Scripture as I can; *The word of the Lord converteth, sanctifieth and maketh wise the simple*; sometimes they aske weaker questions then these, which I mention not, you have the best; and when I am about writing, I am more careful in keeping a remembrance of them; it may be the same question may be again and again asked at several places, and by several persons; The Lord teach them to know Christ, *whom to know is eternal life*; I shall intreat your supplications at the throne of grace, under the tender wing whereof I leave you, being forced by the time, and rest

Roxbury this 29 *of the* 10*th* 49.

Your respectful and loving brother and fellow-labourer in the Indian work.

John Eliot.

[p. 31.] Much honoured and beloved in Christ, &c.

I Heard of the health and welfare of your family not long since, though the sharpnesse and depth of snowes this later part of winter did more shut up and hinder intercourse than ever I knew in *New-England.*

I shall principally attend to give you intelligence about the Indians, touching whom, I know not that you are like to have intelligence by others; The Lord had shewed them a very great testimony of his mercy this winter, in that when formerly the English had the Pox much, they also had the same; but now though it was scattered in all or most of the Townes about them, yet the Lord hath preserved them from it; And that which maketh this favour of God the more evident and conspicuous, is this; That there is a company of profane Indians that lately are come to a place near *Wamouth*, not farre from our Indians, who do not onely refuse to pray unto God, but oppose and apprehend that they were sent thither, if not by the policie of some *Pawwaws*, yet by the instigation of Sathan, on purpose to seduce the younger sort from their profession, and discourage others; and indeed they being so neer, had that effect evidently in some of the younger sort. Now it pleased God

that this company of wicked Indians, were smitten with the Pox, and sundry cut off, and those which were cut off, were of the worst and mischievous of them all; which Providences, all the good Indians do take a great notice of, and doth say that the Lord hath wrought a wonder for them; and it seemeth to me that the Lord hath blest this good Providence of his to be a strong ingagement of their hearts to the Lord.

The work of the Lord through his grace doth still go on as formerly, and they are still full of questions, and mostly they now be, to know the meaning of such Scriptures as I have translated and read, and in a poor measure expounded to them, they long for to proceed in that work which I have in former Letters mentioned; namely to cohabit in a Towne, to be under the government of the Lord, and to have a Church and the Ordinances of Christ among them; this Spring the Lord seemed to put some of them upon such streights, about a convenient place of planting, as if his Providence had meant to call us to a present setting upon the work, but partly by reason of the undetermination about the place [p. 32.] where, but principally for want of means, wherewith it is yet deferred, though I see a necessity to speed it forward, for they have been now long in the expectation, and if I should still fail them, it would both discourage them, and embolden their adversaries to despise the work (for all the Country of Indians are in an expectation of it) yea by this delay that hath been, Sathan hath taken this advantage to my great grief; That whereas at my first preaching at *Nashawog* sundry did imbrace the word, and called upon God, and *Pau-wauing* was wholly silenced among them all; yet now, partly being forty miles of; and principally by the slow progresse of this work, Sathan hath so emboldened the Pawwawes, that this winter, (as I hear to my grief) there hath been Paw-wauing again with some of them.

The reason why there is still a delay of laying the foundation of the work is this, because we must see first whether any supply is like to be had from *England* (for our sins and bad times may disappoint our greatest hopes) and if any, what measure, that we may by that be guided what foundation and beginning to make; their condition and the necessary frame of this work requireth a liberall stock to begin withall, and liberall supply to carry it on; And therefore to begin the work before the Lord hath discovered his providing providence this way, by the rule of prudence may not be; nor can I manifest unto the Church that God doth call me to that work, until I may lay before them, (at least some) present means to begin the work, and some probable hopes of supply; and untill that be done, the Church hath no rule to give me up to that work; nor I a rule to require it; only I do (through the Lords help) continually go on to teach them, as for these three yeers and a half I have done, instructing them, and preparing them as well as I can against such

time as the Lord, who hath promised to guide us by his eye and voyce, shall manifestly call us to go forward with that work which we wait to see accomplished.

I forbear to mention any thing about the materials requisite, and manner of proceedings, having done that in my former Letters, by the first ship especially, and also by the second; both which Vessels I trust the Lord hath brought in safe to you long ere this time. I was in great hopes to have heard some encouragement by fishing ships, but not one being this yeere come, nor tydings any other way, we are put to sad thoughts how it may fare with *England*, but we cease not to pray continually in that behalf, and [p. 33.] this expectation of mine is one ingagement of my heart to be the more earnest both for *England* and for your self also.

Roxbury this 18 *of the* 2d 1650.

Your loving friend and brother in our Lord Jesus

John Eliot.

Much respected and beloved in our Lord Jesus.

GOd is greatly to be adored in all his Providences, and hath evermore wise and holy ends to accomplish that which we are not aware of; and therefore although he may seem to crosse our ends with disappointments after all our pains and expectations, yet he hath farther and better thoughts then we can reach unto, which will cause us to admire his love and wisdome, when we see them accomplished; and yet he is gracious to accept of our sincere labours for his name, though he disappoint them in our way, and frustrate our expectations in our time; yea, he will fulfill our expectations in his way, and in his time, which shall finally appeare to the eye of faith, a better way then ours, and a fitter time then ours; his wisdome is infinite.

For the work of the Lord among the Indians, I thank his Majesty he still smileth on it, he favoureth and blesseth it; through his help that strengthneth me, I cease not in my poor measure to instruct them; and I do see that they profit and grow in knowledge of the truth, and some of them in the love of it, which appeareth by a ready obedience to it; and to testifie their growth in knowledge, I will not (though I could do it if need were) trouble you with their questions; but I will only relate one story which fell out about the fifth month of this yeere; Two of my hearers travelled to *Providence* and *Warwick* where *Gorton* liveth, and there they spent a Sabbath, and heard them in some exercises, and had much confer-

ence with them; for it seemeth they perceiving that they had some knowledge in Religion, and were of my hearers; they endeavour to possesse their minds with their opinions. When they came home, the next Lecture day, before I began the exercise, the company being not fully come together, one of them asked me [p. 34.] this question; *What is the reason, that seeing those English people, where he had been, had the same Bible that we have, yet do not speake the same things?* I asked the reason of his question; he said, *Because his brother and he had been at* Providence *and at* Warwick, *and he perceived by speech with them, that they differ from us; he said he heard their publike exercise, but did not understand what they meant,* (though the man understandeth the English Language pretty well) But afterwards said he, *we had much speech*; I asked him in what points; and so much as his brother and he could call to minde, he related as followeth.

First, said he, *they said thus, they teach you that there is a Heaven and a Hell, but there is no such matter*; I asked him what reason they gave; *he answered, that he said there is no other Heaven, then what is in the hearts of good men; nor no other Hell, then what is in the hearts of bad men*; Then I asked, and what said you to that; saith he, *I told them, I did not beleeve them, because Heaven is a place whether good men go after this life is ended; and Hell is a place whether bad men go when they die, and cannot be in the hearts of men*; I approved of this answer. I asked what else they spake? he answered, *they spake of Baptism,* and said, *that they teach you that infants must be baptized, but that is a very foolish thing*; I asked him what reason they gave? He said, *because infants neither know God nor Baptisme, nor what they do, and therefore it is a foolish thing to do it*; I asked him what he said to that? He said, *he could not say much, but he thought it was better to baptize them while they be young, and then they are bound and engaged; but if you let them alone till they be grown up, it may be they will flie off, and neither care for God nor for Baptisme*; I approved of this answer also, and asked what else they spake of? He said farther, *they spake of Ministers,* and said, *they teach you that you must have Ministers, but that is a needlesse thing.* I asked what reason they gave? He said, *they gave these reasons,* First, *Ministers know nothing but what they learn out of Gods book, and we have Gods book as well as they and can tell what God saith.* Again, *Ministers cannot change mens hearts, God must do that, and therefore there is no need of Ministers.* I asked him what he said to that? He said, *that he told them, that we must do as God commands us, and if he commands to have Ministers, we must have them. And farther I told them, I thought it was true, that Ministers cannot change mens hearts; but when we do as God bids us, and hear Ministers preach, then God will change*

our hearts. I approved this answer also. [p. 35.] I asked what else they spake of? He said, *They teach you that you must have Magistrates, but that is needlesse, nor ought to be.* I asked what reason they gave? He said, *That they gave this reason, because Magistrates cannot give life, therefore they may not take away life; besides, when a man sinneth, he doth not sinne against Magistrates, and therefore why should they punish them? but they sinne against God and therefore we must leave them to God to punish them.* I asked him what he said to that, he answered, *I said to that as to the former, we must do as God commands us; If God command us to have Magistrates, and commands them to punish sinners, them we must obey.* I approved this also.

I asked farther what they said; then both of them considered a while, and said, *they could remember no more*, only they said somewhat of the Parliament of *England*, which they did not understand. And by such time as we had done this conference, the company was gathered together, and we went to Prayer, and I did solemnly blesse God who had given them so much understanding in his truth, and some ability to discerne between Truth and Error, and an heart to stand for the Truth, and against Error; and I cannot but take it as a Divine Testimony of Gods blessing upon my poor labours; I afterwards gave him an answer to his first question, *viz. Why they having the same Bible with us, yet spake not the same things?* And I answered him by that Text, 2 *Thes.* 2. 10, 11. *Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, for this cause God shall send them strong delusions that they should beleeve a lye.* This text I opened unto them; I will adde no more at present to manifest their proficiency in knowledge.

The present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them together from their scattered kinde of life; First, unto Civil Society, then to Ecclesiastical, and both by the Divine direction of the Word of the Lord; they are still earnestly desirous of it; and this Spring that is past, they were very importunately desirous to have been upon that work, and to have planted corne in the place intended; but I did disswade, and was forced to use this reason of delay, because I hoped for tools, and meanes from *England*, whereby to prosecute the work this Summer. But when ships came, and no supply, you may easily think what a damping it was; and truly my heart smote me, that I had looked too much at man and meanes, in stoping their earnest affections [p. 36.] with that barre which proved a Blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to him for help, whose work it is; and when I had thus looked up to the Lord, I advised with our Elders and some other of our Church, whose hearts consented with me; then I advised with divers of the Elders at *Boston* Lecture, and Mr. *Cottons* answer was, *my*

heart sayeth, go on, and look to the Lord onely for help, the rest also concuring; So I commended it to our Church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer about it, (together with other causes) and have been ever since a doing, according to our abilities; and this I account a favour of God, that that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a Ship from *England*, whereby I received Letters, and some encouragement in the work from private friends; a mercy which God had in store, but unknown to some, and so contrived by the Lord, that I should receive it as a fruit of prayer.

The place also is of Gods providing, as a fruit of prayer; for when I, with some that went with me, had rode to a place of some hopefull expectation, when we came to it, it was in no wise sutable; J went behind a Rock, and looked to the Lord, and committed the matter to him; and while J was travelling in Woods, Christian friends were in prayer at home; and so it was, that though one of our company fell sick in the Woods, so that we were forced home with speed; yet in the way home, the Jndians in our company, upon enquiry describing a place to me, and guiding us over some part of it, the Lord did both by his providence then, and by after more diligent search of the place, discover that there it was his pleasure we should begin this work. When grasse was fit to cut, J sent some Jndians to mow, and others to make some hay at the place, because we must oft ride thither in the Autumn when grasse is withered and dead, and especially in the Spring before any grasse is come, and there is provision for our horses; this work was performed well, as I found when I went up to them with my man to order it. We must also of necessity have an house to lodge in, meet in, and lay up our provisions and clothes, which cannot be in *Wigwams*. I set them therefore to fell and square timber for an house, and when it was ready, I went, and many of them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the timber together, &c. These things they chearfully do; but this also I do, I pay them wages carefully for all such works I set them about, which is a good encouragement [p. 37.] to labour. I purpose, God willing, to call them together this Autumne to break and prepare their own ground against the Spring, and for other necessary works, which are not afew, in such an enterprize. There is a great river which divideth between their planting grounds and dwelling place, through which, though they easily wade in Summer, yet in the Spring its deep, and unfit for daily passing over, especially of women and children; therefore I thought it necessary, that this Autumne we should make a foot Bridge over, against such time in the Spring as they shall have daily use of it; I told them my purpose and reason of it, wished them to go with me to do that work, which they chearfully did, and with their own hands did build a Bridge eighty foot long, and nine foot high in the midst, that it

might stand above the floods; when we had done, I cald them together, prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion of Scripture, and at parting I told them, I was glad of their readinesse to labour, when I advised them thereunto; and in as much as it hath been hard and tedious labour in the water, if any of them desired wages for their work, I would give it them; yet being it is for their owne use, if they should do all this labour in love, I should take it well, and as I may have occasion, remember it; they answered me, they were farre from desiring any wages when they do their own work; but on the other side they were thankful to me that I had called them, and counselled them in a work so needful for them, whereto I replyed, I was very glad to see them so ingenuous.

This businesse of praying to God (for that is their general name of Religion) hath hitherto found opposition only from the *Pawwawes* and profane spirits; but now the Lord hath exercised us with another and a greater opposition; for the *Sachems* of the Country are generally set against us, and counter-work the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God as much as they can; And the reason of it is this, They plainly see that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny; for they used to hold their people in an absolute servitude, insomuch as what ever they had, and themselves too were at his command; his language was, as one said, (*omne meum*;) now they see that Religion teaches otherwise, and puts a bridle upon such usurpations; Besides their former manner was, that if they wanted money, or if they desire any thing from a man, they would take occasion to rage and be in a great anger; which when they [p. 38.] did perceive, they would give him all they had to pacifie him; for else their way was to suborne some villain (of which they have no lack) to finde some opportunity to kill him; *This keeps them in great awe of their Sachems*, and is one reason why none of them desire any wealth, only from hand to mouth, because they are but servants, and they get it not for themselves; But now if their *Sachem* so rage, and give sharp and cruell language, instead of seeking his favour with gifts (as formerly) they will admonish him of his sinne; tell him that is not the right way to get money; but he must labour, and then he may have money, that is Gods command, &c. And as for Tribute, some they are willing to pay, but not as formerly. Now these are great temptations to the *Sachems*, and they had need of a good measure both of wisdome and grace to swallow this Pill, and it hath set them quite off; And I suppose that hence it is, that (I having requested the Court of Commissioners for a general way to be thought of to instruct all the Indians in all parts, and I told the Indians that I did so, which they would soon spread; and still in my prayers, I pray for the *Monohegens*, *Narragansets*, *&c.*) the

Monohegen Indians were much troubled lest the Court of Commissioners should take some course to teach them to pray to God; and *Unkus* their *Sachem* went to *Hartford* this Court (for there they sate) and expressed to Elder *Goodwin* his feare of such a thing, and manifested a great unwillingnesse thereunto; this one of our Commissioners told me at his coming home.

This temptation hath much troubled *Cutshamoquin* our *Sachem*, and he was raised in his spirit to such an height, that at a meeting after Lecture, he openly contested with me against our proceeding to make a Town; and plainly told me that all the *Sachems* in the Countrey were against it, &c. When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear, their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away, a few stayed, and I was alone, not any English man with me; But it pleased God (for it was his guidance of me, and assistance) to raise up my spirit, not to passion, but to a bold resolution, telling him it was Gods work I was about, and he was with me, and I feared not him, nor all the *Sachems* in the Country, and I was resolved to go on do what they can, and they nor he should hinder that which I had begun, &c. And it pleased God that his spirit shrunk and fell before me, which when those Indians that tarried saw, they smiled as they durst, out of his [p. 39.] sight, and have been much strengthned ever since; and since I understand that in such conflicts their manner is, that they account him that shrinks to be conquered, and the other to conquer; which alas I knew not, nor did I aime at such a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and wont; after this brunt was over, I took my leave to go home, and *Cutshamoquin* went a little way with me, and told me that the reason of this trouble was, because the Indians that pray to God, since they have so done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done; I answered him that once before when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, *Give unto Cæsar what is Cæsars and unto God what is Gods*; and also on *Rom.* 13. naming him the matter of the texts (not the places of which he is ignorant.) But he said its true, I taught them well, but they would not in that point do as I taught them; And further he said, this thing are all the *Sachems* sensible of, and therefore set themselves against praying to God; and then I was troubled, lest (if they should be sinfully unjust) they should both hinder and blemish the Gospel and Religion; I did therefore consult with the Magistrates and Mr. *Cotton* and other Elders; Mr. *Cottons* text by Gods providence, the next Lecture gave him occasion to speak to it, which I fore-knowing advised some that understood English best, to be there; and partly by what they heard, and by what I had preached to the like purpose, and told them what Mr. *Cotton* said, &c. they were troubled, and fell to reckon up what they had done in two yeers past, a few of them that lived at one of the places I

preached unto; I took down the particulars in writing, as followeth. At one time they gave him twenty bushels of corne, at another time more than sixe bushels; two hunting dayes they killed him fifteen Deeres; they brake up for him two Acres of Land, they made for him a great house or Wigwam, they made twenty rod of fence for him, with a Ditch and two Railes about it, they paid a debt for him of 3. li. 10. s. only some others were contributors in this money; one of them gave him a skin of Beaver of two pound, at his returne from building, besides many dayes works in planting corne altogether, and some severally; yea they said they would willingly do more if they would govern well by justice, and as the word of God taught them; when I heard all this, I wondred, for this cometh to neere 30. li. and was done by a few, and they thought it not much if he had carried matters better; and yet his complaint was, they do nothing; [p. 40.] But the bottome of it lieth here, he formerly had all or what he would; now he hath but what they will; and admonitions also to rule better, and he is provoked by other *Sachems*, and ill counsel, not to suffer this, and yet doth not know how to help it; hence arise his tentations, in which I do very much pity him. Having all this information what they had done, and how causelesse his complaint and discontent was, I thought it a difficult thing to ease his spirit, and yet clear and justifie the people, which I was to endeavour the next day of our meeting after the former contestations, therefore I was willing to get some body with me; And by Gods providence, Elder *Heath* went with me, and when we came there, we found him very full of discontent, sighing, sower looks, &c. but we took no notice of it.

I preached that day out of the fourth of *Matthew*, the temptations of Christ; and when I came at that temptation, of the Devils showing Christ the kingdomes and glories of the world, thereby to tempt him from the service of God, to the service of the Devill; I did apply it wholly to his case, shewing him the Devill was now tempting him, as he tempted Christ; and Sathan sheweth him all the delights and dignities, and gifts and greatnesse that he was wont to have in their sinfull way; Satan also tels him he shall lose them all if he pray to God, but if he will give over praying to God he shall have them all again; then I shewed him how Christ rejected that temptation, and exhorted him to reject it also, for either he must reject the temptation, or else he will reject praying to God; if he should reject praying to God, God would reject him.

After our exercise was ended, we had conference of the matter, and we gave him the best counsel we could (as the Lord was pleased to assist) and when we had done, Elder *Heath* his observation of him was, that there was a great change in him, his spirit was very much lightned, and it much appeared both in his countenance and carriage, and he hath carried all things fairly ever since.

But the temptation still doth work strongly, in the Countrey, the *Sachems* opposing any that desire to submit themselves to the service of the Lord, as appeareth sundry wayes; some that began to listen, are gone quite back; I meane *Sachems* and some people that have a mind to it, are kept back; this last Lecture day one came in and submitted himself to call on God, and said he had been kept back this half yeer by opposition, but now at last the Lord hath helped and emboldned him to break through all opposition.

[p. 41.] Thus Sathan seeketh to beat off these poore creatures from seeking after the Lord by opposing the highest powers they have against the Lord and this work of his, knowing that the light of the Gospel and kingdome of Jesus Christ (if it once get footing) will scatter and dissipate that darkenesse whereby his kingdome is maintained; But I beleeve verily that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions, nay I see it already, (though I see not all, I beleeve more then I can see; you who can know the thoughts of Gods love to his people, it is yet a secret) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society, at least sundry are, who else might croud in among us and trouble us; besides it is become some tryall now, to come into our company and call upon God; for besides the forsaking of their *Pau-waus*, (which was the first tryall) and their old barbarous fashions and liberty to all sinne, and some of their friends and kindred, &c. Now this is added, they incurre the displeasure of their *Sachems*, all which put together, it cannot but appear there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares, and adde to this, that if upon some competent time of experience, we shall finde them to grow in knowledge of the principles of Religion, and to love the wayes of the Lord the better, according as they come to understand them, and to yeeld obedience to them, and submit to this great change, to bridle lust by lawes of chastity, and to mortifie idlenesse by labour, and desire to traine up their children accordingly; I say if we shall see these things in some measure in them, what should hinder charity from hoping that there is grace in their hearts, a spark kindled by the Word and Spirit of God that shall never be quenched; and were these in a fixed cohabitation, who could gain-say their gathering together into a holy Church-Covenant and election of Officers? and who can forbid that they should be baptized? And I am perswaded that there be sundry such among them, whom the Lord will vouchsafe so far to favour and shine upon, that they shall become a Church, and a Spouse of Jesus Christ, and among whom the pure and holy Kingdome of Christ shall arise, and over whom Christ shall reigne, ruling them in all things by his holy word.

But though this trouble and opposition is turned (and shall be more) unto a spiritual gaine, yet it behoveth us not to be secure,

and regardlesse of our safety; for if the Adversary should discerne [p. 42.] us naked and weak, and see an opportunity, who knoweth what their rage and Sathans malice may stirre them up unto to work us a mischief? Nay, it is our duty to be vigilant, and fortifie our selves the best we can, thereby to put the enemy out of hope to hurt us, and to prevent them from attempting any evill against us, if it be the will of God; and to that end we purpose (if the Lord will) to make a strong Palizado (wanting means of doing better) and if we cannot get any Guns, Powder, Shot, Swords, &c. we will make us Slings, Bowes, and other Engines, the best the Lord will please to direct us for our safety; and when we have used the best meanes we can, I hope the Lord will help us to trust in his great name, to make that our strong Tower to flie unto.

I see the Lord delighteth to appear himself in the work, and will have us content our selves with little, low, poor things, that all the power and praise may be given to his great name; Our work in civilizing them will go on the more slowly for want of tools; for though I have bought a few for them, we can do but little, for alas afew will set but afew on work, and they be very dear too; had I store of hoes this Autumne either to lend them or sell them at moderate prizes, we should prepare (by Gods blessing) good store of ground for corne against next yeere; and had I wherewith to buy corne to carry up to the place, and have it in a readinesse to supply them, that so they might tarry at their work, and not be shut off through necessity to go get food, that also would be a great furtherance; and had we but means to maintaine a discreet diligent man to work with them, and guide them in work, that also would much further the work; and many such things I could propound as very requisite unto the work, but I lay my hand upon my mouth, I will say no more, I have left it with the Lord, who hath hitherto appeared, and he will appear for his own eternal praise in shining upon the day of our smal things in his due season.

The blessing of God upon this work doth comfortably, hopefuly, & successefuly, appear in the labours of my brother *Mahu* at *Martins Vineyard*, insomuch that I hope they also will be after awhile ripe for this work of Civility and Cohabitation, if once they see a successeful pattern of it, and I doubt not but they will (as these do) ere long, desire Church-fellowship, and the Ordinances of Gods worship; the cloud increaseth, and the Lord seemeth to be coming in among them; they are very desirous to have their children taught, which is one argument that they truly love the knowledge of God; [p. 43.] as on the contrary, it is a great ground of doubt of the truth of grace in that mans heart, when he hath not an heart to take care to traine up his children in the truth and in the practise of all godlinesse, but this care is in them, and it is pity it should not be furthered by all meanes; I have intreated a woman living neer where

they dwell, to do that office for their children, and I pay her for it; but when they go to their plantation, we shall be in a streight for help that way; the Indians so well like the parties who performeth that service, that they intreat them to go with them, which I look at as a finger of God; they are I hope a godly couple, and might be a blessing to them, had we meanes to encourage them unto so difficult an enterprize, for it is a great matter to go and live among such a people; but in that case also, I look up to the Lord, and leave it with his holy care and wisdome; and if the Lord move any hearts to help in this work, I desire that the care of their schooling may be among the chiefest cares.

If the Lord please to prosper our poor beginnings, my purpose is, (so far as the Lord shal enable me to give attendance unto the work) to have schoole exercises for all the men by daily instructing of them to read and write, &c. Yea if the Lord affords us fit instruments, my desire is, that all the women may be taught to read; I know the matter will be difficult every way, for English people can only teach them to read English; and for their own Language we have no book; my desire therefore is to teach them all to write, and read written hand, and thereby with pains taking, they may have some of the Scriptures in their own Language; I have one already who can write, so that I can read his writing well, and he (with some paines and teaching) can read mine; I hope the Lord will both inlarge his understanding, and others also to do as he doth; and if once I had some of themselves able to spell aright, write and read, it might further the work exceedingly, and will be the speediest way.

Sir, When I had gone thus farre in my Letters, by a Ship that came in, you wrote unto our Governour touching the two Libraries, my brother *Welds* and Mr. *Jenners*, and of the willingnesse of the Corporation to discharge for them, for which cause Ido humbly thank the Worshipful Corporation, all the Christian and much respected Gentlemen my loving friends. And Sir, I thank you for all your faithful pains in this work, and the more I am obliged thereunto, because herein I am like to partake of the fruit of your labours, [p. 44.] the Lord Jesus give you a full reward.

Whereas you require the Catalogue of both Libraries, it shall be done (if God will) but I am to go into the Countrey to the Indians now, and have much businesse, therefore know not whether I can do it by this Ship, if I can I will.

This last Court of Commissioners sate at *Hartford Conecticot*, so that I could not speak with them, but this course I took by our Governours advice; our General Court gave him, with some other, power to give instructions to our Commissioners; therefore all my requests I did write unto him, and he gave them in his Instructions to our Commissioners, so they went strong.

Sir,

I have done at present, Mr. *Whitfield* will informe you farther in any particulars if need be: The Lord of heaven blesse and assist you in all your wayes, and I beg your prayers for me still, and so rest.

Roxbury this 21 of the 8th. } 50

Yours in our Lord Jesus.

JOHN ELIOT.

The Conclusion.

AND now (loving Reader) having brought thee along through these Divine dispensations of Gods merciful dealing with the Indians, I shall briefly acquaint thee with the workings of my own thoughts under the apprehension of these things.

First, I see plainly the fulfilling of that Divine truth and promise spoken of by David, *Psal.* 138. 2. Thou hast magnified thy Word above all thy Name, *i. e. The Word in the Gospel brought and preached to men. The Lord hath made this Word the only outward instrumental means to bring home these wandring sinners; to this Word they have attended from the first; from this they have received their light; unto this they have given up themselves; without this they will not stirre; from this they will not depart; from hence they have their peace, and have seen good dayes under the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.* *Vide* Ainsw. *in loc.*

Secondly, the Lord hath now declared one great end he had of sending [p. 45.] *many of his people to those ends of the earth; for besides that the Lord hath made that Land a place of rest, and a little sanctuary to them in these troubleous times, and hath made it a place where many, very many have been brought home to Christ, even amongst themselves; so now apparently in the conversion of many of the Heathens, who sing and rejoyce in the wayes of the Lord.* Ezek. 11. 16.

Thirdly when I looked on my dear native Country (in the bulke and masse of them) there is one above doth know, that my heart melteth towards it, desiring the Lord to give me grace to sorrow in secret for millions of them, who were never yet acquainted with what many of these poore Indians have felt and found of the things of Christ, and that multitudes of such woh hold forth a profession of Christian Religion, yet fall short of them, in regard

of their belief and practise. Here I helped my self by comparing the one with the other, and that in divers particulars.

1. *These Indians are found (to speak of such whose hearts the Lord hath opened by his Word and Spirit) to prize Ordinances, and such as bring the Light to them, even that poor Indian, whose best clothing is a simple skin about him, of whom you read in the first Letter, yet they honour him for his works sake, and for those gifts, piety, and modesty they see in him; Here Ministers of Christ are despised, though many of them are eminent for parts, wisdome, and known integrity.*

2. *These Indians are plain-hearted seek for Christ to enjoy him for himself; they receive the Truth in the love of it, and obey it without shifting or gain-saying; Here men have their own ends to tend to in matter of Religion, take up the forme, and let the power lie, as not serving their turn, have evasions to get from under the authority of the truth, and the Majesty of the Rules of Christ; here is rending and tearing of wits, whilst we wrangle one another out of the truth, till love and peace be lost.*

3. *These Indians are industrious and pursue the things of their salvation, rest they cannot, have it they must, what ever it cost them, bearing up strongly against all opposition: We have weak and bed-rid dispositions, sunk down into a sottish and sensuall way; in many the kingdome of Hell suffers violence, and none can withstand them, but thither they will.*

4. *These mourn and weep bitterly, and are pained under the sight and sense of their sins, when convinced of them; that some of them have been known to have wet with their teares the places where they have* [p. 46.] *stood. We here for the most part, the Lord knowes, live with dry eyes, and hard hearts, and sleight spirits.*

5. *They are careful and constant in duties of worship, both in private and family prayer, hearing the Word, observation of the Sabbath, meet often together, and will pray together as occasion serves, converse lovingly together, are teachable, patient, and contented. O that there were such hearts in us! O that their example did not shame multitudes of us who are fearfully guilty of omitting what the very light of nature calls for from us! For this my heart is sad, fearing that if the Lord do not mightily step in, the next generation will be betrayed to Ignorance of the* Truth as it is in Jesus, *to Delusions and Profanenesse, and be rendered odious to all our neighbour Nations; and that these Indians will rise up in judgment against us and our children at the last day. Brethren, the Lord hath no need of us, but if it please him, can carry his Gospel to the other side of the world, and make it there*

to shine forth in its glory, brightnesse, power and purity, and leave us in Indian darknesse.

And concerning these Indians, who have tasted how gracious the Lord is, though it cannot be expected but that the Devil should be like himself, by the counter-working of this blessed work, both by himself and his instruments, so as to cause many of them to totter, back slide, and fall away from what they have professed; yet I have ground to conceive and hope, that there is such a candle lighted amongst the Indians in those parts which shall not be put out till Christ comes to judgment, for the accomplishment of which he shall not cease to pray, who is

Your loving friend in

all Christian duties.

HENRY WHITFELD.

FINIS.

STRENGTH

OUT OF

WEAKNESSE;

Or a Glorious

MANIFESTATION

Of the further Progresse of

the Gospel among the *Indians*;

in NEW-ENGLAND.

Held forth in Sundry Letters

from divers Ministers and others to the

Corporation established by Parliament for promoting the Gospel among the Heathen in *New-England*; and to particular Members thereof since the last Treatise to that effect, Published by Mr. *Henry Whitfield* late Pastor of *Gilford* in *New-England*.

CANT. 8. 8.

Wee have a little Sister, and she hath no breasts: what shall we doe for our Sister, in the day that she shall be spoken for?

LONDON;

Printed by *M. Simmons* for *John Blague* and *Samuel Howes*, and are to be sold at their Shop in *Popes-Head-Alley*. 1652.

TO THE

SUPREAME AUTHORITIE

OF THIS NATION,

The Parliament of the Common-Wealth of ENGLAND.

THat the Fathers joy at the returning of a Spend-thrift Sonne, ought to have an influence upon the whole Family of Heaven and Earth, that is called after his name, to worke their suitable affections, and conformity to himselfe, cannot be questioned by any true childe thereof. Behold then, Right Honourable, a call thereunto, Poore Prodigalls, who have not only with our selves lost that rich Treasure of grace and holinesse, wherewith in our Common roote and Fountaine we were entrusted, but also in a course of Rebellion for many Generations wasted the remainder of Natures Riches to the utmost degeneracy that an Immortall rationall being is obnoxious unto, not returning a farre off, but rejoycing in the imbraces of their Father, and enterteined with his flesh and bloud, who was slaine and sacrificed for them.

The ayme of our walking with God here is to come up to some conformitie to them, who behold his face and doe his Will in Heaven: amongst them there is joy at the Repentance of one Sinner, and shall not wee finde sweetnesse in the first fruits of a barren Wildernesse in the

shining of a beame of light into the darknesse of another World, giving hope of a plentifull harvest, and a glorious day to ensue Let men take heed, lest by despising the day, and opposing the Worke of the Lord towards those poore Sonnes of *Adam*, notwithstanding all their zealous profession, they proclaime themselves to pursue a Carnall Interest; by which they declare the enlargement of the Dominion of Jesus Christ is of no Concernment unto them.

Wee are by many Pledges assured better things of you Right Honourable, and such as accompany zeale for the House of our God, and therefore the ensuing Testimonialls of the progresse of the Worke of the Gospel being sent unto us, wee make bold humbly to present them to you; partly that we may invite you as the friends of Jesus Christ, to rejoyce with him that some sheepe of his, who were lost, are found; and partly to lay before you, some such fruits of the putting forth of your Authoritie for the carrying on this most glorious undertaking, as may encourage you to goe on through him who doth enable you unto future reall expressions of your love and zeale thereunto. Wee shall not need to draw forth any particulars from the ensuing Narrative, to give you a taste of that Spirit whereinto these poore Creatures are sweetly baptized; Wee hope your delight in the Worke of God will inforce a leasure, to view the whole, this in Generall wee may say, that in the Wildernesse are waters broken out, and streames in the Desert, the parched ground is become a Poole, and the thirsty Land-springs of water in the Habitation of Dragons, where each lay, there is grasse with Reeds and Rushes, the Lord hath powred water upon him that is thirstie, and flouds upon the dry ground; He hath powred his Spirit on the seeds of the Heathen, & his blessing on their Off-spring, they spring up as among the grasse, as willowes by the water-courses: One sayes I am the Lords, and another calls himselfe by the name of *Jacob*, and another subscribes with his hand unto the Lord, and sirnames himselfe by the name of *Israel.* The Lord hath done a new thing, and wee know

it, he hath made a way in the Wildernesse, and Rivers in the Desert, the beast of the field doth honour him, the Dragons, and the Owles because he gives waters in the Wildernes, and Rivers in the Desert, to give drinke to his People his chosen, so that upon the Report heere read unto us, wee cannot but glorifie God with those Primitive beleevers of old, and say, then hath God also to the poore naked *Indians* granted Repentance unto life. Their outward wants and streights have often been presented unto you; wee shall not need to repeate them, blessed be the Lord, and blessed be you of the Lord that your hearts have been stirred up to give encouragement unto this Worke, and to open a Doore for the reliefe of those Eminent Instruments in the hand of the Lord who carry it on, who though they communicate to them Spiritualls, yet are so farre from receiving of their Temporalls, that they impart unto them a Portion of their owne dayly bread, and provision necessary from their owne subsistence.

The good Lord lay the weight and concernment of this Worke upon your Spirits, and wee no way doubt that you will in any way be wanting to the Publique improvement of this blessed opportunitie, for the enlargement of the Kingdome of him whom our Soules doe love: There is a vexation of spirit, which through their formalitie and unbeliefe, hath encompassed many Professors, that whereas they have with much seeming earnestnes cryed out for mercies; when they have been bestowed, they have thought scorne of them: so did the *Jewes* in the busines of their Messias, and many at this day amongst our selves in the great Workes of the Provinces of God: It is so with some to this breaking forth of light amongst the *Indians*, desiring it before it began, despising it in its very beginnings, the Lord lay it not unto their charge, and keep all our spirits in an holy admiration and reverence of the powerfull efficacy of his eternall and unchangeable purposes, which through so many sinfull Generations (falling in their Rebellion) have preserved a seed to him-

selfe, whereof he will take care that one graine fall not to the Ground.

Your Honors humble Servants;

John Owen.	*Tho: Goodwin.*
Joseph Caryl.	*Sidrach Simpson.*
Will: Greenhill.	*Phillip Nye.*
William Bridge.	*William Strong.*
William Carter.	*Henry Whitfield.*
George Griffith.	*Ralph Venning.*

To the Reader.

Christian Reader;

THese ensuing Letters doe represent unto thee, and to the Churches, the outgoings of Christ, as a *Light to the Gentiles*, that the grace which *brings salvation* hath appeared unto them also in the furthest parts of the Earth, for the accomplishment of that ancient and glorious Promise; *I will give thee for a Light to the Gentiles, that thou may'st be my Salvation to the Ends of the Earth*, (*Isa.* 49. 6.) The People of God have been greatly affected with the appearances of Christ, when he hath rode forth upon *a red Horse* to the destruction of his Enemies; for he *is glorious in his Apparell*, even when his *garments are dipt in bloud*, but much more when he rides forth upon a *white Horse*, for the Conversion of Soules, and goes on *Conquering and to Conquer.*

Wee have therefore thought fit to commend this great worke of Christ unto the view of all the Saints, under these following Considerations.

First, *Hereby the Kingdome of Christ is enlarged*, and the promise made unto him in the Covenant between him and his Father accomplished, his *Dominion shall be from Sea to Sea, and from the floud unto the Worlds end*, therefore his designe is upon all the Kingdomes of the Earth, that he may take possession of them for himselfe, they shall all *become the Kingdomes of the Lord and of his Christ*, Revel. 11. 15. And the *Kingdome and Dominion under the whole Heaven*, being so possessed by Christ, shall be *given to the Saints of the most High*, Dan. 7. 18. Our prayer is, *Thy Kingdome come*, to see the promise made unto Christ fulfilled, and the Prayers of

Arma diaboli Gentes erant; fide autem Gentium vulneratus, caput quod habebat, amisit. Amb. in Psal. 118.

the Saints answered, should be matter of great rejoycing unto us, and of high Praises unto God.

Secondly, *The glorious Gospel of Christ is hereby Propagated*, which is the Scepter of his Kingdome, the *Rod of his Power*, which wee pray may *run and be glorified.* And when we consider, by how many (even amongst us) the Gospel is rejected, for men reject the *Councell of God* against themselves: by how many it is resisted, for there are *many adversaries*, and by how many the Gospel is perverted, being made *another Gospel*, by strange Interpretations; one of the great acts of *Sacriledge* of our times, stealing the sence of the Scripture from the words of the Scripture. Now to see the Gospel lifted up *as an Ensigne to the Nations*, and *they to flow unto it*, should be matter of great rejoycing to the soules of those who love the Gospel in sinceritie.

ἀντικείμενοι. 1 *Cor.* 16. 9.
ἀντιδιατιθέμενοι. 2 *Tim.* 2. 25.
ἱερόσυλοι, τὸν νοῦν τῶν γραμμένων κλέπτοντες. *Nazian.*

Thirdly, *Hereby the soules of men are rescued out of the snare of the Devill*, in which they were before held captive at his will; The Lord hath manifested that there is a *seed according to the Election of grace*, even amongst these also as well as other Gentiles, that the Lord hath visited them to take out of them *a people for his Name*, yea that even they who in a more immediate manner among them worshipped the Devill, their Witches call'd in their language *Pawwawes*, that even these should be deliver'd, *Satan falling from Heaven like lightning before the Gospel*, should greatly exalt free grace in our hearts; the great Love of God, is Love to Soules, and our tenderest compassion should be manifested in pittying of Soules, neither know wee any other ordinary way that the Lord has appointed but the preaching of the Gospel for the winning of Soules to himselfe: *That being the Power of God to Salvation.*

Fourthly, *Hereby the fullnes of the Gentils draws neere to be accomplished*, that the calling of the *Jewes* may be hastned: the Scripture speaks of a *double conversion* of the *Gentiles*, the first before the conver-

sion of the *Jews*, they being *Branches wilde by nature* grafted into the *True Olive Tree* in stead of the *naturall Branches* which are broken off. This fullnes of the *Gentiles* shall come in before the conversion of the *Jewes*, and till then *blindnes hath hapned unto Israel*, *Rom.* 11. 25. The second, after the conversion of the *Jewes*, as appeares *Act.* 15. 16, 17. *After this I will returne and will build againe the Tabernacle of David which is fallen down, and I will build againe the ruines thereof, and I will set it up; that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my Name is called sayth the Lord.* Hence it appears that there are some *Gentiles*, upon whom the Lords Name is called that are a people to him, even whilst the *Tabernacle of David* lyes in its ruines; and when he hath built againe this *Tabernacle of David*, that there are a residue of men, the remainder of the *Gentiles* that shall enquire after the Lord, and worship him, together with those *Gentiles* that were formerly converted, and upon whom his Name was called. The first conversion of the *Gentiles* in *its fulnesse* makes way for the coming in of the *Jewes*, the *King of the East*, therefore to see this worke goe on, should cause the people of God to lift up their heads, and expect that the time of the fullfilling that Promise is neere.

Brightman in *Cant.* S. 8. *Mede* in *Apoc. cap.* 7. *p.* 56.

Fifthly, *That the Lord hath blessed the labours of our Brethren*, who were driven out from among us: A gracious heart as he prayes for, so he cannot but rejoyce in the successe of other mens labours as well as his owne, so the worke which is Gods may prosper, who ever be the Instrument, 'tis enough to him. When *Peter* gave an account to the Apostles and Brethren of the Conversion of *Cornelius* and his family, who were, as it were the *first fruits of the Gentiles*, they all glorified God, saying; *Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted Repentance unto life*, Act. 11. 18. And if they could rejoyce in the Conversion of the *Gentiles* which

they knew would be with the rejection of the *Jewes*, how much more should wee rejoyce in this great worke, who may grow together upon the same good Olive Tree! That when other Nations who have planted in those furthest parts of the Earth, have onely sought their owne advantage to possesse their Land, Transport their gold, and that with so much covetousnesse and cruelty, that they have made the name of Christianitie and of Christ an abomination, that the Lord should be pleased to make use of our Brethren that went forth from us to make manifest *the savour of Christ* among the people, and to winne their soules to him; How should wee rejoyce that the Lord hath so farre prosper'd such an undertaking. It was a holy ambition in *Paul* to *preach the Gospel where Christ was not named*, that he might not glory in another mans line: It is certainly a great honour to be Instrumentall to bring soules to Christ, who before never heard of his Name.

Sixthly, *This wee hope may be but the first fruits of those great Nations unto Christ*, the Lord doth not usually *cause to bring forth and then shut the wombe*, Isa. 66. 9. Let no man despise the day of *small things*, the Lord hath opened a *great doore*, which we hope Satan shall never be able any more to shut.

Such Considerations as these, have filled and affected our hearts, in the reading and meditation of this great worke of the Lord, and wee hope being communicated, may be a good means to awaken the godly and faithfull of this Nation, to observe the Presence and appearances of God amongst his people there, that wee also may say; *What shall we doe for our Sister in the day that shee shall be spoken for?* Shall we not be abundant in Prayer, that the Lord would yet further blesse their holy endevours? Shall wee not labour to strengthen their hands by ministering to them of our aboundance? that they may not be discouraged in so eminent a service, one of the greatest workes that hath been upon the wheele in this latter age, for to Contribute to the

offering up of Soules to Christ, must needs be a Sacrifice of a very sweet smelling savour unto God. This wee humbly offer unto all those that love the Lord Jesus in sinceritie, and remaine

Thine in the furtherance of the Gospel.

William Gouge.
Tho: Goodwin.
Lazarus Seaman.
John Owen.
Edm: Calamy.
Joseph Caryl.
Jer: Whittaker.
Will: Greenhill.
George Griffith.
Henry Whitfield.
Will: Spurstow.
William Bridge.
Simeon Ashe.
Sidrach Simpson.
William Strong.
Phillip Nye.
William Carter.
Ralph Venning.

STRENGTH

OUT OF

WEAKNESSE;

Or a Glorious

MANIFESTATION

Of the further Progresse of

the Gospel among the *Indians*

in NEVV-ENGLAND.

AS every worke of God tending to the rescuing of deluded Soules out of the snares of the Devill, so even this Glorious worke of Gods grace hath met with many discouragements by various kinds of objections cast abroad by divers sorts of people, and even by some that came from New-England *it selfe, who having lived remote from the worke done, and either not affecting the instruments therein imployed, or not going to the places of their Exercise, that they might see and heare the gracious operations of the Spirit of God amongst them, may easily misreport the proceedings of Gods goodnesse therein. Yet neverthelesse God having called us to be exercised in a worke of this Nature, wherein his Glory and the Salvation of so many of the lost sonnes of* Adam *are concerned; wee have taken up a Resolution by his gracious Assistance*

to improve the power and trust by Authoritie of Parliament committed to us to the utmost, least it be laid to our Account amongst others the obstructors of it in the great day of the Lord.

But as wee meete with discouragements, so, through mercy, we are not without incouragements of many sorts, Viz.

1. *This worke of Gods grace growes in* New-England, *not onely in the places where the Gospel was formerly preached to the* Indians; *But God hath stirred up two Eminent Ministers in two other parts of the Countrey, to labour in the worke, not without successe answerable; as Mr.* William Leveridge *neere* Sandwich *in the Government of* New Plymouth, *sixtie miles from the place where Mr.* Eliot *teacheth, and Mr.* Richard Blindman *at* Pecoat, *a place formerly subdued by the* English, *and is a place about the same distance from* Sandwich *another way, an account whereof you will have in the following Treatise.*

2. *Where the Act of* Parliament *for the Collection meets with Gospel-spirited Ministers and people, there wee finde a good account of it comparatively; God having stirr'd up the hearts of some Eminent Christians to contribute in a considerable manner; Some by charging their Lands with a yearely Revenue to the Corporation for that end for ever: and others by sending in good summes of money, subscribing to pay yearely so much whilst they live. And one Gentleman (leaving two sonnes of tender age) having appointed by his Will, in case they dye without issue, that an estate of two hundred pound* per annum, *should be setled upon the Corporation for ever, and the rest of his estate for the like uses in the foure Northerne Counties of* England.

3. *That God hath wrought a resolution in us of the Corporation (wherein wee trust hee will inable us to persist* (viz.) *to contribute our labour and paines freely to this worke, without the least diminution of the Stocke. And if any desire to be satisfied what our receipts, disbursements, or manner of proceedings are, our Bookes are open at* Coopers Hall, London, *betweene the houres of Tenne and Twelve every* Saturday, *where they may with-*

out offence see what is given, and by whom, when brought in, and how imployed or improved.

'Tis very strange to see what a multitude of objections are darted against this pure piece of Christianitie, yea by some, whom otherwise wee have charitable thoughts of, and how exceedingly the worke is impeded thereby, and however through mercy wee are able to answer every one of them sufficiently, yet wee forbeare to particularize them, least wee should reflect too much on some, our Consciences telling us, that as the worke is of God, and really such as is held forth, so he onely can satisfie the spirits of Men, and will doe it in due season, and in the meane time blesse his owne worke being able to carry it on, who delighteth oft times in small meanes, that his gracious operations may the more be seene.

This is the fifth Treatise hath been published to the world in this kinde (but the first by the Corporation) every one of them exceeding each other, wherein a most apparant growth and progresse doth appeare amongst the poore Natives.

That wee have now to offer to the publique view is a farther account of that living, growing, spreading power of Godlinesse amongst them. And first wee shall begin with some remarkeable passages of divine providence in a Letter received from Mr. John Eliot *(who was the first Minister the Lord s tirred up to promote this worke) bearing date the* 28th *of* April 1651. *to one of our selves.*

[p. 1.] # Much Honored and

Beloved in CHRIST.

THe Providence of GOD giving this unexpected opportunitie of sending, I thought it my duty not to omit it, that so the Saints and people of God with you, especially your selfe, with the rest of the Worshipfull Corporation, might understand the progresse and present state of this worke of the Lord among the *Indians*, for wee meete with changes of providence and tryalls in this our day of small things. It hath pleased the Lord to try them, so soone as they have but tasted of his holy wayes. For our natures cannot live without Physicke, nor grace without affliction, more or lesse, sooner or later. The winter before this last past it pleased God to worke wonderfully for the *Indians*, who call upon God in preserving them from the small Pox, when their prophane Neighbours were cut off by it. This winter it hath pleased God to make lesse difference, for some of ours were also visited with that disease, yet this the Lord hath done for them, that fewer of them have dyed thereof, then of others who call not upon the Lord. Onely three dyed of it, (but five more young and old) of other diseases: Now (through the Lords mercy) they are well, though not without ordinary infirmities, which befall Mankinde. In matters of Religion they goe on, not onely in attendance on such meanes as they have, not onely in knowledge, which beginneth to have some clearenesse in the Fundamentall poynts of Salvation; but also in the practice and power of Grace, both in constant care in attendance on the worship of God on Sabbath dayes and Lecture-dayes, especially profitting in the [p. 2.] gift of prayer, and also in the exercise of love to such as be in affliction, either by sicknesse or povertie. I have seene lively Actings of Charitie out of Reverence to the Command of the Lord, when such as had not that principle were farre from such workes of mercy, it pleased God to try them in the time of the Pox, for some of them did hazard their owne lives (for to them it is very mortall) in obedience to the Command of the Lord, to shew mercy to them that were sicke, and some were infected thereby, and fell sicke and lay with much chearefullnesse and patience under Gods hand, and through the Lords mercy are well againe; others who did shew

mercy in that case escaped the sicknesse to the praise of God. Likewise God is pleased to try their Charitie by an old Paralyticke or Palsie sick-man, whose owne Children being prophane and tyred with the burthen of him (his retentive power of houlding excrements being loosened) and having a loosenesse, sometimes he is very noysome and burthensome) they forsooke him and he had perished, but that the Lord stirred up (by the word of his grace) their hearts to shew mercy to him, for he was while he was sicke at six shilling a weeke charge, for wee offered twelve-pence a night to any to tend him, and for meere hyre none would abide it, but out of mercy and Charitie some of the Families did take care of him, and gave freely some weeks, and others were payd out of their publique money, namely, such as hath beep taken off, such as have been Transgressors by Fine or Mulct: and still he is at foure shillings a weeke charge being better in health, in so much that all their publique money is spent, and much more, and wee have Collections among them for the same use. The old man who hath been and still is wise, doth wisely testifie that their love is sincere, and that they truely pray to God, and I hope so doth he, and shall be saved. I could with a word speaking in our Churches have this poore man relieved, but I doe not, because I thinke the Lord hath done it, for the tryall of their grace, and exercise of their love, and to traine them up in works of Charitie, and in the way of Christ to make Collections for the poore. I see how the Lord provideth to further the progresse of the Gospel, [p. 3.] by these tryalls and afflictions, yea there be more passages of this winters worke, wherein the Lord hath taught us by the Crosse. For one of our first and principall men is dead, which though it be a great blow and damping to our worke in some Respects, yet the Lord hath not left the rest to discouragement thereby, nay the worke is greatly furthered, for hee made so gracious an end of his life, and imbraced death with such holy submission to the Lord, and was so little terrified at it, as that it hath greatly strengthened the Faith of the living to be constant, and not to feare death, greatly commending of the death of *Wamporas*, for that was his name, I thinke he did more good by his death, then he could have done by his life: one of his sayings was, That God giveth us three mercies in this world; the first is health and strength; the second is food and cloaths; the third is sicknesse and death; and when wee have had our share in the two first, why should wee not be willing to take our part in the third? for his part he was: I heard him speake thus, and at other times also, and at his last he so spake, and it so tooke with them, that I observe it in their prayers, that they so reckon up Gods dispensations to them, his last words which he spake in this world were these; *Jehova Aninnumah Jesus Christ*, (that is) Oh, Lord, give mee Jesus Christ; and when hee could speake no more, he continued to lift up his hands to Heaven, ac-

cording as his strength lasted, unto his last breath; so that they say of him he dyed praying; when I visited him the last time that I saw him in this world (not doubting but I shall see him againe with Christ in Glory) one of his sayings was this: Foure yeares and a Quarter since, I came to your house, and brought some of our Children to dwell with the *English*, now I dye, I strongly intreate you (for that is their phrase) that you would strongly intreate Elder *Heath* (with whom his Sonne liveth) and the rest, which have our Children, that they may be taught to know God, so as that they may teach their Countrymen, because such an example would doe great good among them, his heart was much upon our intended worke, to gather a Church among them, I told him I greatly desired that he might live (if it were Gods will) to [p. 4.] be one in that worke, but if he should now dye he should goe to a better Church, where *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and *Moses*, and all the dead Saints were with Jesus Christ in the presence of God in all happinesse and Glory; he said he feared not death, he was willing to dye, and turning to the Company which were present, hee spake unto them thus; *I now shall dye, but Jesus Christ calleth you that live to goe to* Naticke, *that there the Lord might rule over you, that you might make a Church, and have the Ordinance of God among you, believe in his Word, and doe as hee commandeth you:* With many such words exhorting them, which they could not heare without weeping. A little before his death hee spake many gracious words unto them, wherein one passage was this; *Some delight to heare and speake idle and foolish words, but I desire to heare and speake onely the words of God, exhorting them so to doe likewise:* his gracious words were acceptable and affecting, that whereas they used to flie and avoyde with terrour such as lye dying, now on the contrary they flocked together to heare his dying words, whose death and buriall they beheld with many teares; nor am I able to write his Storie without weeping.

Another affliction and damping to our worke was this, that it hath pleased God to take away that *Indian* who was most active in Carpentrey, and who had framed me an house with a little direction of some *English*, whom I sometime procured to goe with mee to guide him, and to set out his worke: hee dyed of the Pox this winter, so that our house lyeth, not yet raised, which maketh my aboade amongst them more difficult, and my tarriance shorter then else I would, but the Lord helpeth me to remember that he hath said, *Endure thou hardnesse as a good Souldier of Jesus Christ.* These are some of the gracious tryalls and Corrections the Lord hath exercised us withall, yet he hath mingled them with much love and favour in other respects; for it hath pleased God this winter much to inlarge the abilitie of him whose helpe I use in translating the Scriptures, which I account a great furtherance of that which I most

desire, namely, to communicate unto [p. 5.] them as much of the Scriptures in their owne language as I am able. Besides, it hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter to learn to read and write, wherein they doe very much profit with a very little help, especially some of them, for they are very ingenuous. And whereas I had thought that we must have an *Englishman* to be their Schoole-Master, I now hope that the Lord will raise up some of themselves, and enable them unto that work, with my care to teach them well in the reason of the sounds of Letters and spelling, I trust in the Lord that we shall have sundry of them able to read and write, who shall write every man for himselfe so much of the Bible as the Lord shall please to enable me to Translate. Besides those works which concerne Religion and Learning, we are also a doing (according to the measure of our day of small things) in the civill part of this work, we have set out some part of the Town in several streets, measuring out and dividing of Lots, which I set them to doe, and teach them how to doe it: many have planted Apple-Trees, and they have begun divers Orchards, it's now planting-time, and they be full of businesse, yet we are doing some publick works; the last week I appointed our Lecture to be at a Water which is a common passage, and where the Fish we call *Alewives* come, there we built a Bridge, and made a wyre to catch Fish, and being many of them, some we appointed to one work, and some to another, through the blessing of God we brought both these works to perfection: we also have begun a Pallizadoe Fort, in the midst whereof we intend a meeting-house and a Schoole-house, but we are in great want of Tooles, and many necessaries, and when we cannot goe we must be content to creep: this present week I am going to *Pawtucket*, the great Fishing place upon *Merimek*, where I hear sundry doe expect my coming, with a purpose to submit themselves unto the Lords hand. Sir, I doe earnestly beg your prayers both for me and for this work of the Lord which he hath set me about,

Roxbury, the 28th *of the* 2d *:* 1651. *John Eliott.*

[p. 6.] *The former Letter of Mr.* Elliots *came to hand about six Moneths before the latter, and that's the reason you have another of his followeth next after his former, whereby the Reader may see and observe the constant goodnesse of God in carrying on his owne worke, notwithstanding all the opposition of men. Every day bringing forth as it were additionall improvements to the praise of God, who delighteth so much in this his day of small things.*

Worshipfull and much Honored in the LORD.

IT is through the grace of Christ who hath called you into the fellowship of his Kingdome, that you are willing to take such care and paines for the advancement and furtherance of his Kingdome, and the Lord fill your hearts with the Consolations of his holy Spirit, whose spirit he hath set to seek his glory in promoting the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and because the fruit of our Labours coming in with a blessing, is a great means to quicken the heart to be constant in that work which the Lord delighteth to prosper and blesse. It is my duty to let you understand how it pleaseth the Lord to prosper and proceed in this work of his among the *Indians*; for the promoting whereof you travaile with care and paines, that so you may goe on with the more Comfort, and the better know how to direct your prayers unto the Lord in that behalfe. I will not trouble you with rehearsall of such things as I have already this year written about unto our honoured Friend Mr. *Winslowe*, so far as I can call to minde what I wrote, hoping in the Lord that the Ships are safely arrived, and my Letters come unto his hands. I know not whether I have yet mentioned our Schoole, which through the [p. 7.] Lords mercy we have begun, though we cannot yet be constant in it, we have two men in some measure able to teach the youth with my guidance, and inspection. And thus we order the Schoole: The Master daily prayeth among his Schollers, and instructeth them in Catechisme, for which purpose I have compiled a short Catechisme, and wrote it in the Masters Book, which he can read, and teach them; and also all the Coppies he setteth his Schollers when he teacheth them to write, are the Questions and Answers of the Catechisme, that so the children may be the more prompt and ready therein: we aspire to no higher learning yet, but to spell, read, and write, that so they may be able to write for themselves such Scriptures as I have already, or hereafter may, (by the blessing of God) translate for them; for I have no hope to see the Bible Translated, much lesse Printed in my dayes. Therefore my chiefe care is to communicate as much of the

Scriptures as I can by writing : and further, my scope so to train up both men and youths, that when they be in some measure instructed themselves, they may be sent forth to other parts of the Countrey, to traine up, and instruct others, even as they themselves have been trained up and instructed. This consideration doth make mee very carefull to put on the Schoole, and attend it with what diligence I can, although I cannot as yet doe in it, what I desire. There be severall providences of God appearing to worke, which make me thinke that the most effectuall and generall way of spreading the Gospel, will be by themselves, when so instructed as I have abovementioned ; as for my Preaching, though such whose hearts God hath bowed to attend, can pick up some knowledge by my broken expressions, yet I see that it is not so taking and effectuall to strangers, as their owne expressions be, who naturally speak unto them in their owne tongue. To the end therefore that they may be the better able to teach others, I doe traine them up, and exercise them therein : when I am among them on the Lords dayes, appointing two each Sabboth to exercise, and when they have done, then I proceed, and assuredly I finde a good measure of ability in them, not only in prayer (wherein they exceed my expectation) but [p. 8.] in memory to rehearse such Scriptures as I have read unto them and Expounded ; to Expound them also as they have heard me doe, and apply them. And now also the Schoole-Master taking the care of Catechising the Children, I leaving that to him doe Catechize the men, examining and trying their knowledge, which yet I am wary in doing, least I should dampe and discourage the weak. These things I attend with the more intention, because it seemeth to me God will imploy these first instructed to instruct others, of which I have had sundry experiences, some I shall instance ; it pleasd Mr. *Winthrop* (Son unto our late Honored Governour now at rest) to advise me to send two discreet men to the greatest and most potent *Sachem* among the *Naragansets*, to answer such Questions as they might propound, and to stirre them up to call on God. I did accordingly, and sent him a Present by them ; but the proud *Sachem* did little lesse than despise the offer, though he tooke the present ; So they thought they should have returned without successe ; but when they came among the people, especially such as were a little more remote from the great and proud ones, they received them with great gladnesse ; one Company taking one of ours among them, others taking the other of our men amongst them ; they asked them many Questions, expressed their readinesse to call upon God, if they had any to teach them : expressing likewise that they did not expect their *Sachems* would pray to God, because they were so proud : by which I doe perceive that the Lord is preparing a plentifull Harvest, and not onely by this, but by many other Evidences. There is a great Countrey lying between *Conectacott* and the *Massachusets*, called

Nipnet, where there be many *Indians* dispersed, many of which have sent to our *Indians*, desiring that some may be sent unto them to teach them to pray unto God. And sometimes some of our best men doe goe to severall places for a little while, and returne againe, and not without successe. These things being so, the work which we now have in hand, will be as a patterne and Copie before them, to imitate in all the Countrey, both in civilizing them in their Order, Government, Law, and in their Church proceedings and administrations; and [p. 9.] hence great care lyeth upon me to set them right at first, to lay a sure foundation for such a building, as I foresee will be built upon it, and in this matter I greatly need pray: The order of proceeding with them, is first to gather them together from their scattered course of life, to cohabitation and civill order and Government, and then to forme them (the Lord having fitted them) into visible Church-state, for the guidance whereof, I have instructed them, that they should look onely into the Scriptures, and out of the word of God fetch all their Wisedome, Lawes, and Government, and so shall they be the Lords people, and the Lord above shall Reigne over them, and governe them in all things by the word of his mouth. Sundry of these which pray unto God have formerly subjected themselves unto the *English*; so that in this Government among themselves they doe reserve themselves in that poynt to owne them as their superiours, to make appeales unto them as need may require, and experience for these many yeares shew, that though they have so subjected themselves, yet the onely benefit they have is protection: as for hearing and determining their causes, the difference of language, and paucity of interpreters prohibits, and if their causes come, they be so longsome, and yet of small importance, that it is of necessity, that either they must have no government, as hitherto it hath been, or else they must have it among themselves. Besides, all or many of their differences and causes they usually brought to me, which was not convenient, and I was willing to avoid: themselves also found great need that some should be over them; to judge their causes, and end differences, and much desired it. Therefore upon the sixt day of the sixt Moneth of this present year, (their Pallizadoe Fort being finished) they had a great meeting, and many came together from diverse parts, though sundry were hindred and came not at that time, where, with Prayer to God I read and Expounded to them the 18th of *Exodus*, (which I had done severall times before) and finally they did solemnly choose two Rulers among themselves, they first chose a Ruler of an Hundred, then they chose two Rulers of Fifties, then they chose Ten or Tithing Men (so I call them in *English)* for so [p. 10.] they were called (as is reported) in *England*, when *England* did flourish happily under that kind of Government. And lastly, for that dayes work every man chose who should be his Ruler of ten, the Rulers standing in order, and every

man going to the man he chose, and it seemed unto me as if I had seen scattered bones goe, bone unto his bone, and so lived a civil politicall life, and the Lord was pleased to minister no small comfort unto my spirit, when I saw it. After this work was ended, they did enter into Covenant with God, and each other, to be the Lords people, and to be governed by the word of the Lord in all things. The words of which Covenant are these in *English*. *We doe give our selves and our Children unto God to be his people, he shall rule us in all our affaires, not onely in our religion, and affairs of the Church (these we desire as soone as we can, if God will) but also in all our works and affaires in this world, God shall rule over us.* Isa. 33. 22. *The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law giver, the Lord is our King, He will save us; the Wisedome which God hath taught us in his Booke, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. Oh Jehovah, teach us wisedome to finde out thy wisdome in thy Scriptures, let the grace of Christ helpe us, because Christ is the wisedome of God, send thy spirit into our hearts, and let it teach us, Lord take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God.*

This Act of forming themselves into the Government of God, and entring into this Government, is the first publique Record among the *Indians*, and for ought I know the first that ever was among them: and now our next work is to prepare them for Church-estate, to which end I doe instruct them, that the Visible Church of Christ is builded upon a lively confession of Christ, and Covenanting to walk in all the Administrations of the publique worship of God, under the Government and Discipline of Jesus Christ. I doe therefore exhort them to try their hearts by the Word of God, to finde out what change the Lord hath wrought in their hearts, and this is the present work we have in hand.

Give me leave (much honoured Friends) to goe a little back in my relation, that I might be more particular, because these Letters I prepared in the sixt month after they had [p. 11.] chosen their Officers, as I was propounding and teaching them the above-written Covenant, for that I did often before we did solemnly accomplish it, that so they might doe it as an Act of knowledge and faith. Now let me relate the order of our proceeding: Having again and again read this Covenant to them, and instructed them in the meaning of it, it pleased God to wrack Mr. *Webbers* Ship at *Conahasset*, though the Lord dealt favourably; most goods were saved, though much spoyled: this was on the first day of the 7th Moneth, wherefore at a Lecture at *Natik* on the 10th of the same Moneth, I informed them of the plentifull supply which the Lord had made your selves his instruments to send unto them for the furtherance of this our work, and also how the Lord hath frowned upon it, and undoubtedly it was a fruit of sin, and therefore the Lord called them to repentance, and make peace with God: besides, we were beginning a great work of civill Coha-

bitation and Government, and they wanted wisdome to carry on such a work, and the Lord had promised, *If any want wisdome, ask it of God, who gives liberally*, citing that of *James*, which I had formerly preached on. Moreover, we were in preparation for a Church-state, and that was a great matter to seek the Lord in; and lastly, they having chosen Rulers, and intending to enter into a Covenant to promise unto God to be his people, and to be ruled in all things by his Word. Gods appointment is that such a Covenant should be entred into in a solemne day of fasting and prayer, and all these causes concurred to put us on unto that work. Now though we never yet had kept such a day unto the Lord, yet I had instructed them therein; for in the Spring we had a generall day of Humiliation in all the Churches, and thereupon they moved this Question, *Why the English often fasted and prayed, and I never yet taught them so to doe?* To which I did answer by that of Christ unto the Disciples, but told them, that when we set upon the great works of God, to be his people, governed by his Word, and to gather a Church, then they should be called of God unto it, *&c.* and now it came to passe, my motion they deliberated on with some conference (as their manner is) and finally did consent unto it; then I told them it was needfull [p. 12.] they should pray and teach that day; sundry of them and we agreed, that all such as were called to be Rulers should exercise that day, or so many as we had time for their Exercise. Before that day came, even then when it was appointed *Cutshamoquin*, the chiefe *Sachem*, and therefore chosen the chiefe, (for he is constant in his profession, though doubtfull in respect of the throughnesse of his heart) was in the Countrey near *Narraganset*, about appeasing some strife among some *Sachems*. In which Journey some of those bad *Indians* and *Cutshamoquin* with them did buy much strong water at *Gortons* Plantation, and had a great drinking, from which the wiser sort did withdraw themselves, but *Cutshamoquin* was in it, though not unto drunkennesse, yet his act was scandalous. Before we solemnly appeared before God, and made the above written Covenant, I advised with Mr. *Cotton* about it, and his Counsell was to add these words in the beginning: *Wee are the Sonnes of Adam, wee and our forefathers have a long time been lost in our sins, but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth to finde us out againe; therefore the grace of Christ helping us, we doe give our selves and our Children, &c.*

When the day came, this Act of *Cutshamoquin* being broken out we suffered not him to teach; onely he began the day with confession of his sin, and made a short Prayer, wherein he confessed Satan acted in his heart, begged pardon, and that the Spirit of God might dwell in him, and act in him for time to come, and so ended.

Then another of them began with prayer, and for his Text took that in the 7th of *Luke* 36. to the end (though they doe not know

the Book, Chapter, or Verse, but distinguish my Lectures by the first material word in it) *Christ being invited by Simon the Pharisee, the Woman washt his feet with her teares*, &c. At which *Simon* stumbling, Christ spake the Parable of the two Debtors, both freely forgiven, with the Application, all which he repeated pretty well, and after his teaching he prayed againe and ended. The second took for his Text the *Lords Prayer*, because it is, said he, a day of prayer. The third took for his Text the 7th of *Matthew* 19. to the end, *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is cut downe*, &c. And upon that [p.13.] parable of the two Builders, on the rock the first, the other on the sand, *&c.* By this time the day was well up, then I taught out of the 9th of *Ezra* 3. & 9. where I described a day of Fasting, and the right carriage of it; yet by the parable of a Nut, I shewed that outward acts are as the shell, which is necessary, but a broken and believing heart is the kernell, and so ended the forepart of the day. After a little respite (in which time a Question came to me, if it were lawfull to take a pipe of Tobacco ?)we met again, the first took his Text *Job.* 3. 16. 22. and his Preface was, *I read or rehearse this, and let every one read it in his owne heart.* The second took his Text, *Matth.* 13. 24. to 31. from the Parable of him that *sowed good seed, and the enemy came and while they slept sowed tares*, &c. The third took his Text, *Luke* 3d, 4, 5. 6. ver. *Prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths straight*, &c. By this time night drew on, then I took for my Text, *Deut.* 29. and the 1. to 16. where *Israel* entred into Covenant with the Lord: and finally our Covenant in the forecited words I expressed, and they joyntly consented unto; first the Rulers, then all the people, then was the Collections for the poor, and by dark night we finished our work. Thus have I briefly described that blessed day wherein these poor souls solemnly became the people of the Lord: this was on the 24th day of the 7th Moneth, 1651.

Upon the 8th of the *Oct.* Moneth, which was our next Lecture (for it is in that place but once in a fortnight, I holding a Lecture each other week still at any other place) it pleased our Governour with many others attending him, to visit our poor works and day of small things, where they viewed our House, our Fort, our Bridge, advised about a place for a Mill, &c.) At the season they came unto our Lecture, and observed the carriage and behaviour of things and men: among other things one of our *Indians* did (as we are wont) exercise, which they took so much notice of, and were so far affected with, as that it pleased the Governour to advise me to write the substance of that which he spake, which is as followeth; his Text was *Matth.* 13. 44, 45, 46. *Again the Kingdome of Heaven is like unto treasure hid in a field, the which when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth* [p. 14.] *the feild:* 45. *Againe, the Kingdome of Heaven is like*

unto a Marchant-man seeking goodly Pearles: 46. *Who when he had found one Pearle of great price, he went and sold all that he had and bought it.* The substance of these words he did twice rehearse, then for instruction he first propounded what is this treasure which is hid in a feild? He answered, it is Repentance for sin, Faith in Christ, and pardon of sin, and all grace, as also praying to God, the worship of God, and his appointments, which are the means of Grace, on which he dilated, shewing what excellent Pearles these are, exhorting all to account so of them, and on this point he did much insist: secondly, he asked what is the Feild where these Pearles are to be found? He answered, the Church of Christ, which they did desire to constitute in this place, and to that end came thither to dwell: thirdly, he asked what it is to sell all that a man hath to buy this Feild? He answered, to part with all their sins, and to part with all their old Customes, and to part with their Friends and Lands, or any thing which hindereth them from coming to that place, where they may gather a Church, and enjoy all these Pearles; and here he insisted much to stir them up, that nothing should hinder them from gathering together into this place where they might enjoy such a mercy.

Then he proceeded to the second Parable, and his first Question was, Who is the Marchant man that seeketh goodly Pearls? He answered, it is all you *Indians* which pray to God, and repent of sin, and come to hear the Word of God, you come to seek for excellent Pearls; and here also he insisted: his second Question was, What is this Pearle of great Price? Now in answer to this Question he did not pitch it on Christ alone, and shew the worth and price of Christ: but he did pitch it on Faith in Jesus Christ, and Repentance for sin, and stood upon the excellency and necessity thereof. And this was the greatest defect I observed in his Exercise, which seing I undertake to relate that which none but my selfe understood, I dare not but truly relate, because the Lord heard all, and I must give an account of this relation before him: his next question was, What is meant by all the Riches he had? He answered, his sins, his evill Customes, his evill manners, in which [p. 15.] he formerly took much pleasure; and here he dilated also: Lastly he asked how did he sell them all, and buy the pearle? He answered, by casting away and forsaking all his sins, mourning and repenting of them, praying to God, and believing in Jesus Christ. And here he fervently dilated and so ended; and this according to the best of my memory and observation, is the substance of what he delivered. Whereby you may observe the manner of my teaching them, for they imitate me, as for our Method of preaching to the *English* by way of Doctrine, Reason, and Use, neither have I liberty of speech for that way of teaching, being very unskilfull in their Language, nor have they sufficient ability of understanding to profit by it, so well as by this way, whereof you have herein a little Taste.

Jo: Eliot.

The next Letter good Reader (for we place them according to their severall dates) is one that came from Mr. John Wilson *that reverend holy man, who is Pastor of the Church of Christ at* Boston *in* New England, *who accompanying the Governour, together with Mr.* Eliot *and sundry others, to their new Towne built by the Converted* Indians, *where they purpose by Gods permission to cohabite together, that so they may enjoy all those Ordinances the Lord Jesus hath left unto his Church. Now what Mr.* Wilson *there saw, heard, and observed, that he hath written over to us, and we have published for thy information and consolation.*

Honoured and ever deare Sir.

TOuching the Work of God among the *Indians*, for ought I heare or see from them that are most conversant therein, as Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Mahew*, and Mr. *Leverich*, with whom I have made diligent enquiry; It doth prosperously succeed to their great encouragement, [p. 16.] and ours in the Lord. There was here some few weeks since, the prime *Indian* at *Marthas Vineyard* with Mr. *Mahewe (Humanequinn)* a grave and solemn Man, with whom I had serious discourse, Mr. *Mahewe* being present as Interpreter between us, who is a great proficient both in knowledge and utterance, and love, and practice of the things of Christ, and of Religion, much honoured and reverenced, and attended by the rest of the *Indians* there, who are solemnly Covenanted together, I know not how many, but between thirty or forty at the least, and receive none into their Fraternity or Combination, but those which give good proof of their upright desires to their Conscience, in their professions and conversations, who when Mr. *Mahewe* cannot be with them (as at many set times he is) doth in the week time instruct himselfe from Mr. *Mahewes* mouth, and prepare for their instruction on the Lords day, which they conscionably observe, and have their constant solemne meetings together: This man where he was, had communion on the Lords day with Mr. *Eliots Indians* neer *Dorchester* Mill, unto whom he Preached or declared what he had learned himselfe from the Scripture, some two hours together, with solemne prayer before and after, and then ended with a *Psalme*, such as at home is wont to be sung among his usuall hearers. The Lords day after he was in our Assembly, the Boat then being ready to carry him home by the next opportunity, and truly my reverence to him was such, as there being no room I prayed our brethren to receive that good *Indian* into one of their pewes, which

they did forenoon and afternoon, and at meale, I perceived by him that he had understanding of what he heard Mr. *Leverich* being lately here and at my house (who also Preached at our new Church) I conferred with him about the beginnings and progresse of the Lords work, among his neighbouring *Indians* at *Sandwich*, and did hear from him, what did my heart good. And therefore when he took his leave of me I requested him that he would doe me the favour at his return home, to send me a brief story of that good hand of God which was there upon them, *ab origine*, which I thank him he did soon after, and I thought not amisse to inclose it, as it came to me, being written with his own hand, not doubting [p. 17.] but it would add unto your rejoycing in the Lord. About a fortnight since there was a Lecture to be of Mr. *Eliot* at *Natick*, the new *Indian* Towne, where he useth frequently to Preach to them, besides what he doth neer home (on either side) and many times doth keep the Lords day with them, whereof having some notice, and that the Governour Mr. *Endicot* intended then to be there, my Cousin *Rawson* and I with some other, did prepare to ride thither, the Governour and his Sergeants lying at *Dedham*, which is within seaven or eight miles of the Towne, and we at Mr. *Jacksons* neer *Watertown* Mill (in like distance in the next morning after we had been some hours there where we found Mr. *Eliot*, and by that time we had viewed all things, the Governour came with about twenty Horsemen from *Dedham*, and made a like view, after which the Lecture or Sermon began in the Fort, which the *Indians* have made of whole trees very handsome and firme, which is neer a faire house which the *Indians* have built after the *English* manner high and large (no *Englishmans* hand in it, save that one day or two they had an *English* Carpenter with them to direct about the time of rearing, with chimneys in it: In which Mr. *Eliot* and those which accompany him use to lye, and the *Indian* School-Master was there teaching the Children, who doth read and spell very well himselfe, and teacheth them to doe the like (besides writing) and as there is a large Roome below, so there is a like Chamber above, in a Corner whereof Mr. *Eliot* hath a little Room inclosed, and a bed and bed-sted therein, and in the same Chamber the *Indians* doe as in a Wardrobe hang up their skins, and things of price, as counting them there to be very safe, as well when the doors be open, as when they be locked, they have laid out 3 fair long streets there, two on this side the River, and one on that, and have severall house-lots apportioned severally to every one, which doe or be to inhabite there, and in many of them there are fruit-trees already planted, and they are building *English* houses for themselves mean while living in *Wigwams*, whereof there is good store neer the hill side, at present there being a goodly plaine from the Towne towards *Dedham*) over the River (that is *Charles* River) they have made a firme high foot-bridge [p. 18.] archwise to walk to and

fro, having heaped on the bottome tymbers huge stones, the more to fortifie it, and it was a great encouragement to them, that the last year (when a like Bridge made by the *English* in the new *Dedham* Village called *Medefield* some four or five miles from them) was throwne downe by the force of the flouds or Ice, yet theirs did stand firme and upright. But to returne to the Fort, and to the busines of the day, that is Round and Capacious, and they have prepared there a large Canopie of Matts upon poles for Mr. *Eliot* and the chief of his Company to sit under, and other sorts for themselves and other hearers. The *Saneps* or men by themselves and the *Squaes* or women by themselves, besides the *English* then present (which were about thirty) there were I think not fewer than a hundred men women and young ones; among the *Indians* there be some greater proficients in knowledge, and of better utterance by far then their fellowes, grave and serious men, whom Mr. *Eliot* hath trained up (or the Lord rather by his instructions and directions) to instruct and exhort the rest of the *Indians* in their Lords day and other meetings, when he cannot come to them himselfe. There be some five of these, one of them was prepared before we came, and appointed to begin this Exercise: the further relation of the manner of this *Indians* behaviour in Preaching, together with the substance of that Sermon being before set downe by Mr. *Eliot* may be never omitted: other particulars in order to the exact description of the *Indian* Fort and buildings in Mr. *Eliots* Letter is defective are here supplyed. This man being of middle age, and clad all in *English* apparrell (as most if not all others of them are) sitting in the midst, on a stoole, under the shelter, did begin with prayer very solemnly, standing up for some halfe quarter of an houre, then sitting downe spake unto them of the two Parables, concerning the Feild wherein the treasure hid, and the wise Marchant selling all for the Pearl; we understood him not (save Mr. *Eliot)* excepting now and then a word or two, he discoursed to them some three quarters of an hour at the least, with great devotion, gravity, decency, readines and affection, and gestures very becomming, and sundry mentions he made of Jesus Christ, especially in the beginning, and towards [p.19.] the ending as if he were the scope of all, and the rest of the *Indians*; diverse old men and women, and the younger did joyne and attend vvith much Reverence, as if much affected therewith; then he ended vvith Prayer as he beganne. Then Mr. *Eliot* Prayed and Preached in the *Indian* Language for some hour more, about coming to Christ, and bearing his Yoake. This Text vvas translated by him from the Scripture into *English*, speaking vvith much authority, and after his latter Prayer the *Indian* School-Master read out of his Book one of the *Psalmes* in meeter, line by line, translated by Mr. *Eliot* into *Indian*, all the men and vvomen ,*&c.* singing the same together in one of our ordinary *English* tunes melodiously. I should have said that

after Mr. *Eliots* Sermon there vvere two or three grave *Indians* that propounded to Mr. *Eliot* each of them a Question, very pertinent to the matter he handled about the yoak of Christ, and coming to Christ, which he answered, interpreting to us both their Questions, and the summe of his owne Answers. After this the Lord did stir up my heart to make an Exhortation to the *Indians*, which Mr. *Eliot* Expounded to them, and also the Governours Speech, which God did stir him up too unto the same purpose, declaring our joy to see such beginnings, and warning them of the great danger if they should decline from what they had already come unto, either in their knowledge, affection, or Christian practice, incouraging them against what might damp or deter.

Then all of us taking us to our horses left Mr. *Eliot* and them together, the Governour and his Company to lye at *Dedham*, and the rest of us when we had rid two or three miles with them did returne into our own way towards our former lodging, having been every one of us much refreshed in our spirits in what we saw & were informed of, *viz.* of God amongst them. Not long before this, travelling with Mr. *Eliots* brother I conferred in the way seriously with him about these *Indians* for he useth to accompany his brother, and is a right godly and diligent man, desiring to know what solidity he found by experience in them. Who did acquaint me that there was difference between them as between the *English*, some being less serious then others, and lesse spirituall ; but that there was a [p. 20.] considerable Company of solide ones that were constant and forward in good duties, as well on the week dayes as on the Lords. And that he had purposely somtimes in the dark walked the Round, as it were alone, and found them in their severall Families as devout in Prayer, *&c.* as if there had been any present to observe : and that carried it very modestly, utterly refusing to receive any reliefe from Mr. *Eliots* Table, choosing rather to live on the provisions at home which came in by their owne labour : and when once Mr. *Eliots* owne provisions failed (he being detained among them sundry dayes beyond his intent) they soon took notice, and of their own accord did bring unto him variety of the best which they had themselves ; and he professed unto me that upon all his best observation, there was a very hopefull beginning amongst them, of the Grace and Kingdome of our Lord Jesus. The Lord vouchsafe to be the *Omega* among them as well as the *Alpha* of this blessed change.

Boston : 27 : 8ber 51.

Your most loving Friend,

and Brother in Christ,

John Wilson.

As Mr Wilson *was stirred up in himselfe to send us the Relation of his owne Observations upon his Journey with Mr.* Eliot, *so he having received some precious lines from an able Minister of the Gospel,* viz. *Mr* Leverich *of* Sandwich *in the Government of* New Plymouth, *whom the Lord hath stirred up to labour also in the Conversion of the* Indians*: the ears seeming as it were white unto Harvest, and the Labourers but very few, he adventures to put in his sickle, not without hopefull successe, as will appear in his following lines. And for the discouragements mentioned* [p. 21.] *in his Letter, know that divers of his people having cast off all the Ordinances of God in his Church, at last came to be seduced by every idle spirit that came amongst them, to be led into such fancies as we are ashamed to mention. And so this good man upon this occasion turned to the* Indians, *where he meets with an abundant blessing upon his endeavours.*

Reverend Sir.

I Salute you in the Lord, I shall trouble you only with two things, first, the moving causes inducing me to set upon this worke: Secondly, with what successe I have hitherto been entertained, by the blessing of God upon my weak endeavours. For the first of these, I suppose its not unknown to your selfe: amongst many others, what singular exercise I have had in these parts, and what singular Conflicts I have met withall in my travails amongst our owne Countreymen, divers of them transported with their (though not singular) Fancies, to the rejecting of all Churches and Ordinances by a new cunning, and I perswade my selfe one of the last but most pernicious plot of the Devill to undermine all Religion, and introduce all Atheisme and profanenesse, if it were possible, together with which, I have observed a spirit of Pharisaisme and formality too, too evidently creeping upon and strongly possessing others generally, besides other discouragements I shall forbear to mention, which considered divers of our brethren, together with my selfe, upon consultation had together, were resolved to move together else whether, where we might hope for more and better encouragement, as touching our Communion, if God so pleased: but were disswaded by divers our honoured Friends, both by their Letters and more private Councels, unto whom we gave way, at least for the present: not long after hav-

ing an hopefull *Indian* [p. 22.] in my house, he propounds to me a motion of teaching the *Indians* neer us. And somtimes after Mr. *Eliot* invites me to the same work by his Letters: then I thought with my self I must stay, and began to tast the motion with more affection, resolving, that if God would please to fit up the rooms of others with the accesse of such forlorne Creatures, and bring in such as wandred in the high wayes, lanes, and hedges; and Call in the lame, and halt, and blind, in stead of those Contemners, it would be a mercy; and by no other respects in this world, was my breast inclined unto this work, and to attend God in it. As touching the second, for matter of successe and incouragement, I cannot but reckon this one, and that not the least, that though the *Indian* tongue be very difficult, irregular, and anomalous, and wherein I cannot meet with a Verb Substantive as yet, nor any such Particles, as Conjunctions, *&c.* which are essentiall to the severall sorts of axioms, and consequently to all rationall and perfect discourses, and that though their words are generally very long, even *sesquipedalia verba*, yet I find God helping, not onely my selfe to learne and attaine more of it in a short time, then I think I could or did of Latine, Greek, or Hebrew, in the like space of time, when my memory was stronger, and when all known rules of Art are helpfull to fasten such notions in the mind of the learner; but also the *Indians* to understand me fully (as they acknowledge) so far as I have gone. I am constrained by many ambages and circumlocutions to supply the former defect, to expresse my selfe to them as I may. The next encouragement I may not without ground omit to mention is this, that it pleaseth God to help some of these poor Creatures to look over and beyond the Examples of some of our looser sort of *English*, which I look upon as a great stumbling block to many. It's to be lamented that the name of God so generally professed by those looser sort of *English*, should be so generally polluted by them, and blasphemed by Heathens, through the occasion of their loosenes and deniall of the power of godlinesse, yet God gives some of theirs a spirit of discerning between precious and vile, and a spirit of Conviction, to acknowledge (oh that ours would lay it to heart) there is no difference between the worst [p. 23.] *Indians*, and such *English*, saying *they are all one Indians*, yea and further, to put a like difference between such *Indians* amongst themselves here and elsewhere, as appear to be more serious in their Inquiries after God, and conscientious according to their light, and such others that are more slight, and meer pretenders to Religion. Thirdly, for more particular observations. 1. God hath brought some of them to a sence of their sinnes, and a fear of his justice. Here I shall insert an example or two, one of them being to repeat such Principles I had begun to train them in, in a Catechisticall way (for my penury confines me to this method at present, and I hope it may be never the worse for them) was a good

while before he could speak, having his countenance sad before (and as I have understood since a week together after our former Exercise) and in speaking the tears all the while trickling downe his Cheekes: After being demanded by me what was the matter of his sadnesse, he answers me, he did now understand that God was a just God, and for himselfe he had been very wicked, even from a child. And another, whom I used as my Interpreter now and then in teaching them, falls suddenly and publiquely into a bitter passion, crying out, and wringing his hands, out of the like apprehension of his Condition, as he told me afterwards, and I find no one of them (daring men) to speak of their good hearts, but some more some lesse sensible of the contrary. Secondly, God hath brought some of them to some Evangelicall Conviction, one acknowledging that though he and others leave their former evils, and should keep Gods Commandements, yet without Christ they must goe to hell. Thirdly, Two or three of them have complained of the hardnesse of their hearts, and are questioning of Remedies. Fourthly, Speaking to them of the mercy of God in Christ, one of them tells publiquely, it did him more good to hear of Christ, then to hear of all earthly good things, I would fain hope for seeds of faith in such. Fifthly, Two of them I deal withall particularly for personall evils, by name for the sinne of Fornication, which they were carried away into, which my *Indian* acquainting my selfe with after our Exercise I spake unto, shewing them the evills of this sinne [p. 24.] and aggravating of it by the knowledge they now had of God, *&c.* and exhorting them to Repentance, and to seek mercy in Christ; whereupon one of them fell into bitter weeping, presently the other though his heart was shut up at present, yet not long after, and with longer continuance said, I have observed in others a sence of temptations, spirituall bondage, which they expressed naturally thus; one saith that he and the Devill were all one Souldiers, and this in sadnesse of spirit, and speech: another laying his hands upon his knees and hams, complains he was a man tyed in Cords, and prayes to God to be unloosed, and in generall they are observed divers of them to pray with much affection, mourning; in so much that they are in this respect a wonderment to their Companions, who enquired what is the matter why they doe so, *&c.*

A fourth encouragement to me is this, I find the Devill bestirring himselfe, and betaking of himselfe to his wonted practice of stirring up oppositions against this work by his Instruments, as fearing the ruine of his Kingdome, their Countreymen manifesting their hatred, threatning they shall not plant, hunt, *&c.* as before; yea the Controversie or enmity rather arises between Parents and Children, *&c.* Lastly, and not long before I was last with you in the Bay upon a second day in the morning before they went away, there came to me to the number of twenty of them, voluntarily professing one by one their

desire to fear God, promising that they would leave their sins (some intermixing acknowledgements of their sins and ignorance : and one that *English* and *Indians* knew she had been very wicked) hereunto calling *Jehovah* to witnes ; and this to doe all their dayes, as long as they live : some bringing their Children, and causing them to make the like profession ; whereupon I was the more stirred towards them in my spirit (though I acknowledge I was loath to make an absolute engagement) to promise them I would endeavour to be as helpfull to them as I could in teaching them : which when I had done, they gave me thanks publiquely ; and since this, they living some seaven miles from us, have built a *Wigwam* of purpose neer our Town to receive them when they come on the Lords dayes ; and truly Sir, they are so attentive in hearing, [p. 25.] that it grieves me I cannot speak to them as I desire, they seeming to be hungry, and I wanting bread for them. And thus Sir, you have a naked Narration of our proceedings, with the events fallen out by Gods providence within not many moneths. It is I believe a day of small things, and so lookt at by our *English* many of them, who surely would have perished in their darknesse, if all others should have contemned them as they these, I pray God they perish not in the light, however I am resolved to bable to them as I may, considering that out of the mouths of babes God ordaines praise, and found strength to still the Enemy, *&c.* the beginnings of Gods great works are often in great obscurity, where he appoints the end to be glorious. Also I remember one sowes and another reaps, which where ever they be such as are faithfull shall rejoyce together. I doubt not Sir, of your fervent prayers (which I doe further beg of you and others that know how to pity lost ones) for my selfe and poor *Indians*, that the Lord will prosper our indeavours this way, and water them with his abundant blessings in Jesus Christ, that the day-spring from on high may visit such poor souls as are in darknesse, and the shadow of death, and bring them to life in Jesus Christ.

Sandwich this 22 *of the* 7th. 1651. *William Leverich.*

The next Letter is a testimoniall from a private hand of what Mr. Leverich *mentions in his to Mr.* Wilson, *where we may see some fruits of his labours testified by a neighbour of his at* Sandwich, *which is fiftie miles from that place, where Mr.* Eliot *hath taught other* Indians *for divers years : but we doe not a little rejoyce to hear that Mr.* Leverich *is engaged in this worke ; because he is a grave learned knowing and a prudent Christian, one in-*

deed from whom by Gods blessing we may expect much good. [p. 26.]

COncerning the *Indians* I have seen and heard more this Summer then ever I did before, I have seene some *Indians* crave a blessing before meat, and returne thanks after meat, pray morning and evening, some of them doe frequent our meetings, they come constantly eight or ten miles every Saturday, and the Monday they returne home againe, while our Exercise doth last, they doe attend diligently, but understand but little, but when that is done Mr. *Leverich* and they doe put questions one to another, and Mr. *Leverich* hath an *Indian* that speaks good *English*, and he is Interpreter. There is a man that lives neer us, that comes from an Island that is called *Martins Vineyard*, where is a Minister that speaks good *Indian*, he doth preach to them every week, he hath told me that that Minister told him, that there are some of them *Indians*, that are able to give a better reason of their Faith, then some of the Members of their Church; some of them will Preach, and they have private meetings, and keep very good orders.

Sandwich 22^{d} *September.* 1651. *Anthoney Bessey.*

The next Letter we present thee withall good Reader, is one from Mr. Mayhew, *whom God hath honoured with abundant successe in making his labours the instrumentall meanes to turne many of the Heathen from their evill wayes to the Lord our God. This he not onely wrote to Mr.* Henry Whitfield, *who is a Minister in* Winchester, *but also to a Member of our Corporation, being the same Narrative word for word, for ought we discerne, wherein appeareth a mighty progresse in godlines since our last Treatise published by Mr.*Henry Whitfield *upon his comming hither from* New England. *God not onely daily adding to their number* [p. 27.] *such sa in Charity we conceive appertain to his Election: but stirred them up (being neer two hundred persons) to enter into a more close way of the Gospel, declaring themselves to be the worshippers of the everliving God. With many other things ministring much consolation to every Christian heart, to see these very* Powwawes *fall off from the worship of Devills and embrace the glad tidings of Salvation.*

Reverend and dearly Beloved in Christ Jesus.

SIR,

WHat you have done in the *Indian* busines, and concerning my selfe in particular, doe give good testimony of your holy desires to further the work of the Lord amongst them. The good providence of God in bringing you unto us, and the free engaging of your selfe in this work of the Lord, and that upon the best ground, did fully perswade my heart of your faithfullnesse therein, and of an inward blessing from God upon us thereby; although I should never have seen a return in outward supplies, as now through mercy I have, as an acceptable and very helpfull fruit of Christian goodnes and bounty received from your selfe and Christian Friends, that the Lord hath stirred up both to pray earnestly, and contribute freely for the promoting of the work of the Lord in my hand amongst the poor *Indians*. Sir, assure your selfe, and let all our beloved Friends know, that what is done by you together in this behalf, doth not only strengthen my hands, and give me advantage to be more helpful to the *Indians*, but also is a further encouragement unto my heart from the Lord to do to the utmost of my power in this service he hath called me unto, [p. 28.] and wherein he hath afforded me his gracious presence unto this day; and not only in supporting me therein, but also in some remarkeable passages of his power and mercy amongst the *Indians*, those miserable Captives, something whereof your selfe hath been an eye-witnes unto, and have already heard, yet now being further advantaged through the grace of God appearing with us, and knowing it will be acceptable to your selfe, and our dearly beloved Christian Friends, that long for and rejoyce in the gracious appearance of Jesus Christ in his Kingly Soveraignty and power, where he hath not formerly been known, I shall by the help of God certifie you how the Lord hath carried on his own work with us since your departure from us.

It pleased the Lord who hath drawne the *Indians* from the *Pawwaws* to worship himselfe, whereat the *Pawwaws* were much discontented, yet now to perswade two of themselves to run after those that followed hard after God, desiring that they might goe with them in the wayes of that God whose name is *Jehovah*; and they came

much convinced of their sinnes that they had lived in, and especially of their *Pawwawing*, saying, I throw it from me with hatred of it, being sorry that ever I medled with it. And now I have heard of *Jehovah*, by his help I put it under my feet, and hope to trample it down in the dust with the Devill and *Pawwawnomas* (or Imps) I throw it into the fire, and burn it. Thus they fully made known unto all both by word and gesture, and by more such like expressions they then used, not only their indignation against it, but that they would never make use of it more. One of them did then discover the bottom of his witchcraft, confessing that at first he came to be a *Pawwaw* by Diabolical Dreams, wherein he saw the Devill in the likenesse of four living Creatures; one was like a man which he saw in the Ayre, and this told him that he did know all things upon the Island, and what was to be done; and this he said had its residence over his whole body. Another was like a Crow, and did look out sharply to discover mischiefs coming towards him, and had its residence in his head. The third was like to a Pidgeon, and had its place in his breast, and was very cunning about any businesse. The [p. 29.] fourth was like a Serpent, very subtile to doe mischiefe, and also to doe great cures, and these he said were meer Devills, and such as he had trusted to for safety, and did labour to raise up for the accomplishment of any thing in his diabolicall craft, but now he saith, that he did desire that the Lord would free him from them, and that he did repent in his heart, because of his sin.

The other said his Conscience was much troubled for his sin, and they both desired the Lord would teach them his wayes, have mercy upon them, and pardon their sins, for Jesus Christ his sake: and truly it did give to us who were present a great occasion of praising the Lord, to see those poor naked sons of *Adam*, and slaves to the Devil from their birth, to come toward the Lord as they did, with their joynts shaking, and their bowels trembling, their spirits troubled, and their voices with much fervency, uttering words of sore displeasure against sin and Satan, which they had imbraced from their Childhood with so much delight, accounting it also now their sin that they had not the knowledge of God.

Secondly, that they had served the Devil, the Enemy both of God and Man.

Thirdly, that they were so hurtfull in their lives, and were also thankfull that now through the blessing of God they had an opportunity to be delivered out of that dangerous condition. The *Indians* did all much rejoyce to see the *Pawwawes* turn from their wicked wayes to serve the Lord. Not long after the *Pawwaws* had forsaken their old way, on a Lecture day after Exercise diverse *Indians* desired to become the servants of the Lord, amongst whom was a *Pawwaw*, called *Tequanonim*, who was of great esteem and

very notorious; for he as they said, and in their ignorance conceived, never did hurt to any, but alwayes good, endeavouring the good and preservation of the *Indians*; whereunto also he was accompted by them to be strongly provided. And as himself said he had been possessed from the crowne of the head to the soal of the foot with *Pawwawnomas*, not onely in the shape of living Creatures, as Fowls, Fishes, and creeping things, but Brasse, Iron, and Stone. It was therefore the more to be acknowledged the work of God, that he should forsake this way, his friends, his gain, to [p. 30.] follow the Lord, whose wayes are so despisable in the eyes of devillish minded men. This *Pawwaw* declaring by what means the Lord took him off this devillish Trade, said that he had heard some things from my Father, who took occasion to discourse with him about the way of true happinesse, that he should never forget, blessed be God, his Counsell had so good an effect, as I hope it hath on many others. It pleased the Lord who will have all the gods of the earth to be terrible unto him, for he meeting *Mumanequem* in the wood by accident, told him that he was glad he had an opportunity to speak his minde unto him, for he had many searchings of heart about his *Pawwawing*, and did think it was not a good way, and that God was angry with him for it; for said he my Wife hath been a long time sick, and the more I *Pawwaw* for her, the sicker she is; And this doth agree with an observation of the *Indians* of this Island, *viz.* that since the Word of God hath been taught unto them in this place, the *Pawwaws* have been much foiled in their devillish tasks, and that instead of curing have rather killed many; but in a word, the fruit of this and all other means was a publique manifestation of hatred to his former wayes, wondering he was yet alive who was so sinfull, and that he desired to be better, and to beleeve in Christ, for whose sake onely, he did believe his sinnes could be pardoned, and that he did desire to heare the Word of God. This man hereby hath made those of his owne house to be his Enemies; his Wife, his Children, and most of his friends and kindred, who remain obstinate still, whereby he meets with many troubles and temptations: one of his brethren being very sick did earnestly desire that he would *Pawwaw* for him, which he refused, his brother told him that he might keep it private, but he still refused, telling him that notwithstanding that, if he should answer his desire, he should break his Covenant, and sinne against God; and therefore would not.

There came pressing in at the same time about fifty *Indians*, desiring to joyne with the Worshippers of God in his service. It would be too long for me to set downe what every one said before they entred into Covenant, only this I may not omit, that all of them came confessing their sinnes, some in speciall [p. 31.] the naughtinesse of their hearts, others in particular, actuall sinnes they

had lived in: and also they all desired to be made better, and to attend unto the Word of God, to that end looking onely to Christ Jesus for salvation. I observed also that they generally came in by Families, bringing also their Children with them, saying, I have brought my Children too, I would have my Children serve God with us, I desire that this son and this daughter may worship *Jehovah*, and if they could but speak, their Parents would have them say somthing to shew their willingnesse to serve God: And when the Commandements were repeated, they all acknowledged them to be good, and made choice of *Jehovah* to be their God, promising by his help to walk according to his Counsels: And when they were received by them that were before in this generall Covenant, it was by loud voices giving thanks to God that they were met together in the wayes of *Jehovah:* this is all before the end of the year 1650.

And now through the mercy of God there are an hundred ninetie-nine, men, women, and children, that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and everliving God. There are now two meetings kept every Lords day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off my house: *Hiacomes* teacheth twice a day at the nearest, and *Mumanequem* accordingly at the farthest, the last day of the week they come unto me to be informed touching the subject they are to handle: And the Lord doth much assist them, blessed be the name of the Lord. I have also undertaken to keep by the help of God two Lectures amongst them, which will be at each once a fortnight: And I hope it will be by the blessing of God very profitable unto them. This winter I intend, if the Lord will, to set up a School to teach the *Indians* to read, *viz.* the children, and also any young men that are willing to learne, whereof they are very glad. I am also endeavouring their Cohabitation with all convenient speed, that so they may be more helpfull one to another; and also the better advantaged to carry on that work they have set upon to Gods glory, and their own comfort. And what I have written concerning the *Pawwawes*, and the fifty *Indians* that were admitted to those [p. 32.] that worshipped God in one day: There were diverse *English* both eye and ear witnesses thereof, as well as my selfe, and we could not but acknowledge much of the Lords power and goodnesse to be visible amongst them, who without being driven by power, or allured by gifts, were so strongly carried against those wayes they so much loved, to love the way that nature hates. Let us therefore magnifie the Lord, who alone doth this, and seek unto him to doe more and more still, that so one generation may praise his works to another, and that so both we and them may abundantly utter the memory of his great goodnesse and power, in that new Song, *Revelations* 5. 9. untill that we all meet together in Heaven, and *sing glorious praises unto him that sitteth upon the Throne, and*

unto the Lamb for ever and ever. In whom I heartily recommend you unto God, desiring to be recommended by you, and in him to rest.

From the Vineyard this 16th

of October. 1651. *Yours to be commended in*

and for the Lord Jesus.

Thomas Mayhew.

The next Letter you meet withall came from the present Governour of the Massachusets, *directed to the President of our Corporation, and another of the Members thereof, which wee thought good to publish, that every Christian Reader may partake in the same consolation, wherewith he and we are comforted; and joyne with us in prayer to the Lord of the Harvest, that he would provide more Labourers to enter upon this soul-saving worke, and enlarge the hearts of all his people in this Nation towards the same.*

[p. 33.] *Much honoured and beloved in the Lord Jesus.*

I Esteeme it not the least of Gods mercies that hath stirred up the hearts of any of the people of God to be instrumentall in the inlarging of the Kingdome of his deare Sonne here amongst the Heathen *Indians*, which was one end of our comming hither, and it is not frustrated. It was prophesied of old, and now begins to be accomplished, *Psal.* 2. 8. Neither can I but acknowledge the unspeakable goodnesse of God that gives us favour in the sight of our Countreymen to helpe on with so large a hand of bounty, so glorious a work, provoked thereunto by your worthy selves, the chiefe Actors of so good a designe, let me (with leave) say confidently, you will never have cause to repent it; For the work is Gods and he doth owne it, the labour there hath been yours, and your Master

will reward it. I think Religion and Conscience binde me to seek unto God for you, and to praise him with you, for what is already begun. The Foundation is laid, and such a one that I verily beleeve the gates of Hell shall never prevaile against. I doubt not but the building will goe on apace, which I hope will make glad the hearts of Thousands. Truly Gentlemen, had you been eare and eye-witnesses of what I heard and saw on a Lecture-day amongst them about three weeks since, you could not but be affected therewith as I was. To speak truly I could hardly refrain tears from very joy to see their diligent attention to the word first taught by one of the *Indians*, who before his Exercise prayed for the manner devoutly and reverently (the matter I did not so well understanding) but it was with such reverence, zeale, good affection, and distinct utterance, that I could not but admire it; his Prayer was about a quarter of an houre or more, as we judged it; then he took his Text, and Mr. *Eliot* their Teacher told us that were *English* the place [p. 34.] (there were some Ministers and diverse other godly men there that attended me thither) his Text was in *Matth.* 13. 44, 45, 46. He continued in his Exercise full halfe an houre or more, as I judged it, his gravity and utterance was indeed very commendable; which being done Mr. *Eliot* taught in the *Indian* tongue about three quarters of an hour as neer as I could guesse; the *Indians* which were in number men and women neer about one hundred, seemed the most of them so to attend him, (the men especially) as if they would loose nothing of what was taught them, which reflected much upon some of our *English* hearers. After all there was a *Psalme* sung in the *Indian* tongue, and *Indian* meeter, but to an *English* tune, read by one of themselves, that the rest might follow, and he read it very distinctly without missing a word as we could judge, and the rest sang chearfully, and prettie tuneablie. I rid on purpose thither being distant from my dwelling about thirty eight, or forty miles, and truly I account it one of the best Journeyes I made these many years. Some few dayes after I desired Mr. *Eliot* briefly to write me the substance of the *Indians* Exercise, which when he went thither again, namely to *Naticke*, where the *Indians* dwell, and where the *Indian* taught, he read what he remembered of it first to their School-Master who is an *Indian*, and teacheth them and their Children to write, and I saw him write also in *English*, who doth it true and very legible, and asked him if it were right, and he said yea, also he read it unto others, and to the man himselfe, who also owned it. To tell you of their industry and ingenuitie in building of an house after the *English* manner, the hewing and squaring of their tymber, the sawing of the boards themselves, and making of a Chimney in it, making of their groundsells and wall-plates, and mortising, and letting in the studds into

them artificially, there being but one *English* man a Carpenter to shew them, being but two dayes with them, is remarkeable. They have also built a Fort there with halfe trees cleft about eight or ten inches over, about ten or twelve foot high, besides what is intrencht in the ground, which is above a quarter of an acre of ground, as I judge. They have also built a foot bridge over *Charles* Rivers, with Groundsells and Spurres to [p. 35.] uphold it against the strength of the Flood and Ice in Winter; it stood firme last Winter, and I think it will stand many Winters. They have made Drummes of their owne with heads and brases very neatly and artificially, all which shews they are industrious and ingenuous. And they intend to build a Water-Mill the next Summer, as I was told when I was with them. Some of them have learnt to mow grasse very well. I shall no further trouble you with any more Relation at this time concerning them. But a word or two further with your patience concerning other *Indians*. The work of God amongst the *Indians* at *Martins Vineyard*, is very hopefull and prosperous also. I mist of Mr *Mayhew* their Teacher, who was lately at *Boston*, and therefore cannot give you a particular account thereof at this present time; yet I cannot but acquaint you what other motions there are touching other *Indians*. There came to us upon the 20th of this instant Moneth, at the Generall Court one *Pummakummim* Sachem of *Qunnubbágge*, dwelling amongst or neer to the *Narragansets*, who offered himselfe and his Men to worship God, and desired that some *English* may be sent from the *Massachusets* Government to plant his River, that thereby he may be pertaker of Government, and may be instructed by the *English* to know God. We shall I hope take some care and course about it, and I hope we shall have more help to carry on that work also; For there are some Schollers amongst us who addict themselves to the study of the *Indian* Tongue. The Lord in mercy recompence it into your Bosomes, all that labour of love vouchsafed to the poor *Indians*, which are the hearty prayers, and earnest desire of, much honoured,

Boston the 27th *of*
the Eight. 1651.

Your loving Friend in all
service of Christ.

John Endecott.

[p. 36.] *The next thing we present the Reader withall, is a private passage from one in* New England *to his godly Friend here, who was so much affected therewith, as he found out our Treasurer of the Corporation, by name Mr.* Richard Floyd *at the* Meremaide *in* Cheapside, *and desired it might be published to the world amongst other things, when we should publish and print what we received of like nature. And how ever it is but briefe in it selfe, yet full of sweetnesse and plainnesse of spirit which we offer to thy view.*

THe best News I can write you from *New-England* is, the Lord is indeed converting the *Indians*, and for the refreshing of your heart, and the hearts of all the godly with you; I have sent you the Relation of one *Indian* of two yeares profession, that I took from his owne mouth by an Interpreter, because he cannot speak or understand one word of *English*.

The first Question was;

Q. How did you come first to any sight of sinne?

A. His answer was, *Before the Lord did ever bring any* English *to us, my Conscience was exceedingly troubled for sin, but after Mr.* Mayhew *came to preach, and had been here some time, one chiefe* Sagamore *did imbrace the Gospel, and I hearing of him, I went to him, and prayed him to speake something to me concerning God, and the more I did see of God, the more I did see my sinne, and I went away rejoycing, that I knew any thing of God, and also that I saw my sinne.*

Q. I pray what hurt doe you see in sinne?

A. *Sin, sayth he, is a continuall sicknesse in my heart.*

Q. What further evill doe you see in sinne?

A. *I see it to be a breach of all Gods Commandements.*

Q. Doe you see any punishment due to man for sinne?

A. *Yea, sayth he, I see a righteous punishment from God due to man for sinne, which shall be by the Devills in a place like unto fire (not* [p. 37.] *that I speake of materiall fire, (saith he) where man shall be for ever dying and never dye.*

Q. Have you any hope to escape this punishment?

A. *While I went on in the way of* Indianisme *I had no hope, but did verily believe I should goe to that place, but now I have a little hope, and hope I shall have more.*

Q. By what meanes doe you look for any hope?

A. *Sayth he, by the satisfaction of Christ.*

I prayed the Interpreter, to tell him from mee that I would have him thinke much of the satisfaction of Christ, (and so he told him) I prayed him to returne mee his Answer.

A. *I thanke him kindly for his good Counsell, it doth my heart good, sayd he, to heare any man speake of Christ.*

Q. What would you thinke if the Lord should save you from misery?

A. *If the Lord, said he, would save me from all the sinne that is in my heart, and from that misery, I should exceedingly love God, and saith he, I should love a man that should doe mee any good, much more the Lord, if he should doe this for mee.*

Q. Doe you thinke that God will doe you any good for any good that is in you?

A. *Though I beleeve that God loves man that leaves his sinne, yet I beleeve it is for Christs sake.*

Q. Doe you see that at any time God doth answer your prayers?

A. *Yea, sayth he, I take every thing as an Answer of prayer.*

Q. But what speciall answer, have you taken notice of?

A. *Once my wife being three dayes and three nights in labour, I was resolved never to leave praying till she had deliverance, and at last God did it, and gave her a sonne, and I called his name* Returning, *because all the while I went on in* Indianisme *I was going from God, but now the Lord hath brought mee to him backe againe.*

By this time Captaine *Gooking* came to us, and he asked him this Question:

Q. What he would thinke if he should finde more affliction and trouble in Gods wayes, then he did in the way of Indianisme.

A. *His answer was, when the Lord did first turne me to himselfe* [p. 38.] *and his wayes, he stripped mee as bare as my skinne, and if the Lord should strip mee as bare as my skinne againe, and so big* Saggamore *should come to mee, and say, I will give you so big* Wampom, *so big* Beaver, *and leave this way, and turne to us againe: I would say, take your riches to your selfe, I would never forsake God and his wayes againe.*

This is a Relation taken by my selfe, *William French.*

The last Letter we offer to the Readers view, is a Letter directed to one of our selves from Mr Thomas Allen, *who came lately from* New England, *and is now setled in the Ministery at* Norwitch *in* Norfolke, *wherein he beareth witnes to the reallitie and truth of this worke of the Lord in* New England *begun upon the* Indians;

against all such that raise up false reports against the same, or such as labour to weaken the same, by lessening the number of such as are wrought upon by the power of the Gospel preached to them.

Honored Sir;

IT seemes that some of late have been so impudently bold (which I cannot sufficiently wonder at) as to report and publiquely affirme, that there was no such thing as the preaching and dispersing of the Gospell amongst the Natives in *New England:* verily Sir, I doe beleeve that the Devill himselfe (who is the Father of Lyes) would not, yea durst not have uttered such a notorious untruth as that was. Now although I confesse I have not been present at the places where the *Indians* are wont to meete, to heare such as doe preach unto them, by reason of my bodily weakness and indisposition to travell so farre into the Wildernesse, yet thus much I can testifie (if my Testimony may be of any use) being lately come over from *New England*; that there are divers persons in severall places, who doe take paines, and [p. 39] labour in that Worke there, *viz.* not onely Mr. *Eliot* of *Roxbury*, who hath preached among them for many yeares up & downe in the Jurisdiction of the *Massachusets*; and Mr *Mahew*, who for a good while hath taken paines among the *Indians* at an Island called *Martins Vineyard*; but of late also Mr. *Leveridge* in the Jurisdiction of *Plymouth*, and Mr. *Blynman* who lives now in a new Plantation in the *Pequotts* Countrey. As for the successe of the preaching of the Gospel unto the Natives, I have heard Mr *Eliot* affirme, that he is so well perswaded of the Worke of grace in some of them, as that he could comfortably joyne in Church fellowship with them: Mr. *Mahew* also (who came to see mee a little before my coming from thence)told me that after Mr. *Whitfeilds* coming thence (for he had been upon that Island, as he came to the Bay, and was present also with Mr *Mahew* amongst the *Indians*) there were neer upon one hundred (I think he said Ninety and odd) persons of them more who came in to heare him preach unto them, and some *Pawaws* also, and one of some Eminency amongst them, who did acknowledge his Evill in such doings, and made a Declaration of the manner how he came at first to be a *Pawaw*, the which also Mr. *Mahew* did relate unto mee. Sir, that there is such a work in hand in *New-England* as the preaching of the Gospel unto the Natives there, all the Magistrates and Ministers and people in that place (who know any thing) will be readie to attest, and therefore such as dare af-

firme the contrary, may as well say, that the Sunne doth not shine at Noone day, when the skie is cleere, and doe indeed deserve a Publique Witnesse to be borne against them, for such a Publique, and so notorious an untruth; The good Lord humble them deeply for it, if it be his good will, and pardon it to them through his grace in Christ.

Thus Sir, not having further at this present to be troublesome unto you, desiring an Interest in your earnest prayers for mee, beseeching the Lord to let his presence and blessing be with you, and upon your great and weighty businesses, I take leave, resting

Norwich 8d. 11m. *Your humble Servant in the Lord,*

1651. Thomas Allen.

[p. 40.] *THus having presented the* Christian Reader *with a view of those things that God hath brought to our hands, which we of the Corporation conceive our selves bound in duty to publish to the world, looking upon it as one meanes to advance the work in the hearts of Gods people, and to stirre them up thereby to contribute more freely towards the carrying on the same: The reason wherefore we have published so many testimonialls, and shall insert more, is because too many that come from thence labour to blast the worke, by reporting here that there is no such worke afoote in the Countrey: or if it be it is but for the loaves, & if any be truely converted, 'tis not above five or seaven at most? These things as they are very grievous to us to heare, so we take God to witnes, that as we are in sincerity exercised in a great deale of care and travell to carry on the worke: so we publish to the world no more then what we have received, and beleeve to be really true. And if these testimonies related in the foregoing discourse, be not sufficient to satisfie any still doubting spirit, there are some eminent Gentlemen come from thence, who are ready to resolve*

them in the truth hereof, as Mr Edward Hopkins, *late Governour of* Connectacutt, *Mr* Francis Willowby, (*and others*) *a late Magistrate of the* Massachusets. *Besides if any shall repaire to* Coopers Hall, *we shall be willing to show them the originall Copies we have received, which we have transcribed for the Presse: the time for any to repaire thither is Saturday every weeke between the houres of ten and twelve in the Morning, where our Corporation sit, and where we shall gladly take paines to satisfie the doubt of any: and thinke nothing too much wherein we may be serviceable to the Lord Jesus in a worke having so much tendency to his glory in the propagation of his Kingdome.*

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the said Corporation by *William Steele* Esquire, President.

FINIS.

Tears of Repentance:

Or, A further

Narrative of the Progress of the *Gospel*

Amongst the

INDIANS

IN

NEW-ENGLAND:

Setting forth, not only their present state and condition, but sundry Confessions of sin by diverse of the said *Indians*, wrought upon by the saving Power of the Gospel; Together with the manifestation of their *Faith* and *Hope* in *Jesus Christ*, and the Work of Grace upon their Hearts.

Related by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Mayhew*, two Faithful Laborers in that work of the Lord.

Published by the Corporation for propagating the Gospel there, for the Satisfaction and Comfort of such as wish well thereunto

---

Isay, 42. 3. *A bruised Reed shall he not break, and the smoaking Flax, shall he not quench.*

London: Printed by *Peter Cole* in *Leaden-Hall*, and are to [be] Sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1653.

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
The Lord General
CROMWEL.

WHat the Jews once said of their Centurion, He loved our Nation, aud built us a Synagogue, *the same may we affirm upon a more Noble Accompt of Your Lordship, and of those faithful Centurions and Soldiers under Your Conduct; by how much the Adventure of your Lives in the Cause of God, for the Good of your Country, is a more infallible Demonstration of your Love to it: forasmuch as the King of Saints, is also King of Nations, and when he shall be the desire of all Nations, will prove their safest Interest. Upon consideration whereof, it was but equal that Mr.* Eliot *a faithful Laborer of Christ in spreading the* Everlasting Gospel *to the poor* Indians, *should prefix Your Lordships Name to his Relation of the Progress of Divine Grace amongst them: And with his Judgment, We of the Corporation, who are subordinately intrusted, do so far concur, especially moved thereunto by that liberal and Exemplary Contribution to this Glorious Work lately promoted by Your Lordship, and Your Officers with the Army, that we thought not fit either to sever that Narrative, and this of Mr.* Mayhew's *or to send them abroad under any other Name to the Publick View.*

Coopers-Hall, *London, March,* 26. 1653.

Signed in the Name and by the Appointment of the said Corporation, by

William Steel, President.

To the much Honored Corporation in London, *Chosen to Place of Publick Trust for the promoting of the Work of the Lord among the* Indians *in* New-England.

Worthy Sirs,

IT hath not been from any disrespect to your selves, that I have not formerly directed to your Presence, and presented into your Hand, what have already been let go, which made Relation of the Work of God among the *Indians* in this Island (commonly called *Martins Vineyard*) This year there was an opportunity not to be refused, of certifying the Right Worshipful *John Endicot* Esquire, Governor of the *Massachussets* in *New-England* of what I had to communicate concerning the *Indians*, from whose hand also you will receive it; but yet I may not for several causes, neglect the writing to your selves the same things, with more particulars since adjoyned, in the conclusion to accompany the former unto your Pious and Prudent consideration, to which they are committed to be (as I have received them from God) the tokens of more Grace in store to be bestowed on Indian souls.

Highly esteemed in the Lord Jesus,

WHen the Lord first brought me to these poor Indians on the *Vinyard*, they were mighty zealous and earnest in the Worship of False gods and Devils; their False gods were many, both of things in Heaven, Earth, and Sea: And there they had their Men-gods, Women-gods, and Children-gods, their Companies, and Fellowships of gods, or Divine Powers, guiding things amongst men, besides innumerable more feigned gods

belonging to many Creatures, to their Corn, and every Colour of it: The Devil also with his Angels had his Kingdom among them, in them; account him they did the terror of the Living, the god of the Dead, under whose cruel power and into whose deformed likeness they conceived themselves to be translated when they died; for the same word they have for *Devil*, they use also for a *Dead Man*, in their Language: by him they were often hurt in their Bodies, distracted in their Minds, wherefore they had many meetings with their *Pawwaws*, (who usually had a hand in their hurt) to pacifie the Devil by their sacrifice, and get deliverance from their evil; I have sometimes marvelled to see the vehemency of their Spirits, which they acted with no less bodily violence therein. The *Pawwaws* counted their Imps their Preservers, had them treasured up in their bodies, which they brought forth to hurt their enemies, and heal their friends; who when they had done some notable Cure, would shew the Imp in the palm of his Hand to the Indians who with much amazement looking on it, Deified them, then at all times seeking to them for cure in all sicknesses, and counsel in all cases: This Diabolical way they were in, giving heed to a multitude of Heathen Traditions of their gods, and many other things, under the observation whereof, they with much slavery were held, and abounding with sins, having only an obscure Notion of a god greater than all, which they call *Mannit*, but they knew not what he was, and therefore had no way to worship him.

What an entrance I had at first amongst these miserable Heathen, how called thereunto, and what success God blessed us with, hath been in some measure already published, which will I hope through the dew of Gods blessing from Heaven, have such a gracious increase, that the blossoming and budding time shal at least be acknowledged, and by many more God blessed for it, in the growth of the fruit to more maturity; Since it hath pleased God to send his Word to these poor captivated men (bondslaves to sin and Satan) he hath through

mercy brought two hundred eighty three Indians (not counting yong children in the number) to renounce their false gods, Devils, and Pawwaws, and publickly in set meetings, before many witnesses, have they disclaimed the Divinity of their formerly adored multitude, defied their tyrannical Destroyer the Devil, and utterly refused the help of the Pawwaws in any case; neither have they at any time, either by threatnings or flatteries been drawn thereto, although their lives have been in hazard; yea, eight of their Pawwaws have forsaken their Devilish craft, and profitable trade as they accounted it, for to embrace the Word and Way of God. The Indians which do pray to God, were not compelled thereto by power, neither also could they be allured by gifts, who received nothing for about seven years time, much less that which counterpoyse their troubles, and exceed to the drawing of them from the beloved waies of their own Worships: Surely it were great uncharitableness, and derogatory from the glory of God, to think that none of these are truly changed, and that God himself by his Word and Spirit, hath not in mercy prevailed in their hearts against these evils; nay, may we not hope and be perswaded by this, and some other appearances of God amongst them, that some of them are truly turned to God from Idols, to serve the Living and true God? Serve him, through mercy they do in some hopeful Reformations, walking inoffensively and diligently in their way, which I hope will more plainly appear when they are in a way more hopeful (by the blessing of God to their further well-being) which I hope will be in the best time.

I cannot but take notice of this good providence of God by the way, That he hath mercifully preserved all the Indians which call upon his Name (from the beginning of the Work unto this day) from all extraordinary evil, whereby the Devil and Witches use to torment the Bodies and Minds of Men, not one of them or their children (as I know) or have heard have been touched by them in this kind (only a Pawwaw or two, have not been

delivered from his Imps presently after his renouncing of them, but for some time have had the sence of them in his Body with much pain:) The mischief that the Pawwaws and Devils usually do to the common Indian this way, is both by outward and bodily hurt, or inward pain, torture, and distraction of mind, both which I have seen my self: To accomplish the first, the Devil doth abuse the real body of a Serpent, which comes directly towards the man in the house or in the field, looming or having a shadow about him like a man, and do shoot a bone (as they say) into the Indians Body, which sometimes killeth him. An instance whereof I can give, whereby it may the more plainly appear, that it is a great mercy to be delivered therefrom; and it is of a youth, who living with his Parents upon a neck of Land, They did not pray unto *Jehovah*, yet their Neighbours who lived there with them, did; This Youth was hurt after the same manner, and then presently his Parents pulled down the house they lived in, and fled to an Island near by, where I saw the Indian thus hurt in his Thigh, he was grievously tormented, and his Kindred about him mourning, not knowing where to find any comfort, or help, for cure could not be had from their gods or Pawwaws: I then took the opportunity to reason with them about their way, with the best wisdom God gave me, but all in vain, for they would not hear to seek the true God, notwithstanding he had shewn his displeasure so apparently against them for their former refusing of Him, but they still followed on their wonted Serpentine Machinations: The Pawwaws, and their devillish train, with their horrible outcries, hollow bleatings, painful wrestlings, and smiting their own bodies, sought deliverance, but all in vain, for he died miserably. Hereby, and by several other things, I perceive that they are not (in a manner) indifferent, whether they serve their own gods or not, or change them (as some think) for they are naturally like the Heathens of *Chittim* and *Kedar*, which would not change their gods, which yet are no gods; when God blames his people for changing their glory

for that which doth not profit; I hope therefore that it is something of Grace, that many chuse to worship the true God. But touching the former vexing mischiefs, A *Sachem*, and no good friend to the work, could not but acknowledg the blessing of God among the Praying Indians; When I came over (said he) at the further end of the Island, there was a storm (mentioning the aforesaid evils, with some more) but when I came to this end I found a calm, the Praying indians were all well, they arose in the morning, Prayed to God, and went about their business, and they are not hurt nor troubled like the other Indians: And the Pawwaws themselves, some of them do say, That they cannot make their power seize on any of them: Questionless they have tried their Skill and Satan hath not been wanting to assist them, who is so unwilling to fall down from his Rule, and to be driven from his old Possessions. A Pawwaw told me, who was of no small note among the Heathen formerly, and also with the best, now he hath forsaken his Pawwawing, That after he had been brought by the Word of God to hate the Devil, and to renounce his Imps (which he did publickly) that yet his Imps remained still in him for some months tormenting of his flesh, and troubling of his mind, that he could never be at rest, either sleeping or waking: At length one time when I went down to keep the farthest Lecture about seven miles off, he asked me some Questions, whereof this was one, *viz.* That if a Pawwaw had his Imps gone from him, what he should have instead of them to preserve him? Whereunto it was Answered, That if he did beleeve in Christ Jesus, he should have the Spirit of Christ dwelling in him, which is a good and a strong Spirit, and will keep him so safe, that all the Devils in Hell, and Pawwaws on Earth, should not be able to do him any hurt; and that if he did set himself against his Imps, by the strength of God they should all flee away like Muskeetoes: He told me, That he did much desire the Lord, it might be so with him. He further said, That ever since that very time God hath in mercy delivered him from them, he is not troubled with

any pain (as formerly) in his Bed, nor dreadful visions of the night, but through the blessing of God, he doth lie down in ease, sleeps quietly, wakes in Peace, and walks in safety, for which he is very glad, and praises God.

This last spring, the Indians of their own accord made a motion to me they might have some way ordered amongst them, as a means whereby they might Walk in good Subjection to the Law of God, wherunto they desired to enter into Covenant; they told me that they were very desirous to have their sins suppressed which God did forbid, and the duties performed, which he hath Commanded in his Word; and thereunto they desired me to inform them, what punishment the Lord did appoint to be inflicted on those which did break any part of his Law, for they were very willing to submit themselves to what the will of the Lord is in this kind. I was not willing on the sudden to draw forth in writing an Answer to their desire, but rather chose to take a longer time of Consideration in a Work of so great Concernment, and refer them to the Word of God, shewing them many places for their information, most whereof they had heard of formerly: They also further desired, That they might have some men Chosen amongst them with my Father and my self, to see that the Indians did walk orderly, and that such might be incouraged, but that those which did not, might be dealt with according to the word of the Lord; I could not but approve and incourage the motion, seeing they spake not as those in *Psal.* 2. 3. *Let us break their bands asunder and cast away their cords from us,* but sought totall subjection and strict obedience to God: yet I told them that it was a matter of great weight, shewing them many things which I thought necessary for them to know, but needless now to relate. A day of fasting and prayer to repent of our sins, and seek the gracious help of our God for Christ Jesus sake, we appointed; and another shortly after to finish the work in: Some of the Indians spake somthing for their benefit; and about ten or twelve of them prayed, not with any set Form like Children, but like Men indued with a good

measure of the knowledg of God, their own wants and the wants of others, with much affection, and many Spiritual Petitions, savoring of a Heavenly mind; and so are they streitned in respect of help from man, that it appears the more plainly to be the Dictates of Gods Spirit. A Platform of the Covenant in Answer to their desires, I drew forth the same morning in the Indian Language, which I have here sent in English.

Wee the distressed Indians *of the* Vineyard (*or* Nope the Indian name of the Island) *That beyond all memory have been without the True God, without a Teacher, and without a Law, the very Servants of Sin and Satan, and without Peace, for God did justly vex us for our sins; having lately through his mercy heard of the Name of the True God, the Name of his Son Christ Jesus, with the holy Ghost the Comforter, three Persons, but one most Glorious* God, *whose Name is* JEHOVAH: *We do praise His Glorious Greatness, and in the sorrow of our hearts, and shame of our faces, we do acknowledg and renounce our great and many sins, that we and our Fathers have lived in, do run unto him for mercy, and pardon for Christ Jesus sake; and we do this day through the blessing of God upon us, and trusting to his gracious help, give up our selves in this Covenant, Wee, our Wives, and Children, to serve* JEHOVAH: *And we do this day chuse* JEHOVAH *to be our God in Christ Jesus, our Teacher, our Law-giver in his Word, our King, our Judg, our Ruler by his Magistrates and Ministers; to fear God Himself, and to trust in Him alone for Salvation, both of Soul and Body, in this present Life, and the Everlasting Life to come, through his mercy in Christ Jesus our Savior, and Redeemer, and by the might of his Holy Spirit; to whom with the Father and Son, be all Glory everlasting.* Amen.

After I had often read this Covenant and expounded it unto them, they all with free Consent willingly and thankfully joyned therein, and desired *Jehovah* his blessing for Jesus Christ his sake, the Lord be gracious to our beginnings.

Within two or three weeks there came an Indian to me in business, and by the way he told me, that some Indians had lately kept a day of Repentance to humble themselves before God in prayer, and that the word of God which one of them spake unto, for their Instruction, was *Psal.* 66. 7. *He ruleth by his Power for ever, his eyes behold the nations, let not the rebellious exalt themselves.* I asked him what their end was in keeping such a day? He told me those six things: First, they desired, That God would slay the rebellion of their hearts. Secondly, That they might love God, and one another. Thirdly, That they might withstand the evil words and temptations of wicked men, and not to be drawn back from God. Fourthly, That they might be obedient to the good Words and Commands of their Rulers. Fiftly, That they might have their sins done away by the Redemption of Jesus Christ. And Lastly, That they might walk in Christs way.

Now for the state of things with us, we are by the help of God about to begin a Town that they may Cohabit and carry on things in a Civil and Religious way the better; The praying Indians are constant attenders to the word of the Lord, and some of them (I hope) conscionable seekers after the knowledg of God, and themselves, and not without obtaining (by the grace of God) some saving benefit to their own Souls, which will by his own blessing, in the best time, more plainly appear. About 30. Indian Children are now at School, which began the Eleventh day of the Eleventh month. 1651. they are apt to learn, and more and more are now sending in unto them. The Barbarous Indians, both men and women, do often come on the Lecture dayes, and complaining of their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and refusing the helps, and hopes of their own power, seek Subjection to *Jehovah*, to be taught, governed, and saved by him, for Christs sake. The Name of the Lord alone be praised for what is begun; What is further needfull, I earnestly desire may be fervently prayed for, and expected by faith, to be effected and finished

by the gracious hand of God, who have laid the foundation, and will not leave his own works unperfect, which is the comfort of an unworthy Laborer in the Lords Vinyard, and an earnest desirer to be remembred at the Throne of Grace.

Having a little more liberty, I shall certifie you of somthing more, which I have taken notice of amongst the poor Indians.

I observed that the Indians when they chose their Rulers, made choyce of such as were best approved for their godliness, and most likely to suppress sin, and encourage holiness, and since they have been forward upon all occasions, to shew their earnest desire thereof. There was an Indian that was well approved for his Reformation, that was suspected to have told a plain Lye for his Gain; the business was brought to the publick Meeting, and there it was notably sifted with zeal and good affection; but at length the Indian defending himself with great disdain, and hatred of such an evil, proved himself clear, and praised God for it. The same Indian was a little before, very sick, and he told me that when he thought he should die, he did so love God, that he was not unwilling to die, and leave his wife, and children, or any thing else, but that he was only desirous to live for this cause, That he might be more taught by the Word of God, and be helpful to teach the Indians the Way of God.

I have also observed how God is pleased to uphold some of these poor Indians against opposition. I was once down towards the further end of the Island, and lodged at an Indians house, who was accounted a great man among the Islanders, being the friend of a great *Sachem* on the *Mayn*; this *Sachem* is a great Enemy to our Reformation on the Island: At this mans house when I had sate a while, his son being about thirty years old, earnestly desired me in his Language, to relate unto him some of the ancient Stories of God; I then spent a great part of the night (in such discourse as I thought fittest for them) as I usually do when I lodg in their houses,

what he then heard (as he expressed) did much affect him: And shortly after he came and desired to joyn with the praying Indians to serve *Jehovah*, but it was to the great discontentment of the *Sachems* on the *Mayn*, and those Indians about him: News was often brought to him that his life was laid in wait for, by those that would surely take it from him, they desired him therfore with speed to turn back again; The man came to me once or twice, and I perceived that he was troubled, he asked my counsel about removing his Habitation, yet told me, That if they should stand with a sharp weapon against his breast, and tell him that they would kill him presently, if he did not turn to them, but if he would, they would love him, yet he had rather lose his life than keep it on such terms; for (said he) when I look back on my life as it was before I did pray to God, I see it to be wholly naught, and do wholly dislike it, and hate those naughty waies; but when I look on that way which God doth teach me in his Word, I see it to be wholly good; and do wholly love it. Blessed be God that he is not overcome by these temptations.

The next thing I judg also worthy to be observed, My Father and I were lately talking with an Indian, who had not long before almost lost his life by a wound his Enemies gave him in a secret hidden way, the mark whereof he had upon him and will carry it to his grave: This man understanding of a secret Plot that was to take away his Enemies life, told my Father and I, That he did freely forgive him for the sake of God, and did tell this Plot to us that the mans life might be preserved: This is a singular thing, and who among the Heathen will do so?

I observe also that the Indians themselves do indeavor to propagate the knowledg of God, to the Glory of God and the good of others: I heard an Indian (after I had some discourse with the Indians in the night) ask the *Sachem*, and many others together, how they did like that counsel they heard from the word of God: They answered, very wel; then said he why do you not take

it? why do you not do according to it? He further added, I can tell you why it is, Because you do not see your sins, and because you do love your sins; for as long as it was so with me, I did not care for the Way of God; but when God did shew me my sins, and made me hate them, then I was glad to take Gods Counsel: this I remember he spake, with some other things, with such Gravity and truth, that the *Sachem* and all the company was not able to gain-say.

Myoxeo also lately met with an Indian, which came from the *Mayn* who was of some note among them; I heard that he told them of the great things of God, and of Christ Jesus, the sinfulness and folly of the Indians, the Pardon of sin by Christ, and of a good life; and so were they both affected, that they continued this discourse two half nights, and a day, until their strength was spent: He told him in particular, how a Beleever did live above the world, that he did keep worldly things alwaies at his feet (as he shewed him by a sign) That when they were deminished, or increased, it was neither the cause of his Sorrow, or joy, that he should stoop to regard them, but he stood upright with his heart Heavenward, and his whol desire was after God, and his joy in him. Now Much honored in the Lord, and all that love Christ Jesus in truth, let me prevail with you that we may be presented by you at the Throne of Grace in his worthiness to obtain those blessings, that concerns his Kingdom and Glory; our Comfort and Salvation: And you are, and shall also be, ever humbly so prayed for, by him, who is

From the Vinyard the
22. of October, 1652

Yours obliged, and ever

to be commanded in the

Work of the Lord Jesus

Thomas Mayhew.

To His Excellency, the Lord General *Cromwel*; Grace, Mercy, and Peace, be Multiplied.

Right Honorable

Envy it self cannot deny that the Lord hath raised and improved You in an Eminent manner to overthrow Antichrist, and to accomplish, in part, the Prophesies and Promises of the Churches Deliverance from that Bondage: In all which Service, the Lord hath not only kept Your Honor unsteined, but also caused the Lustre of those precious Graces of Humility, Faith, Love of Truth, and Love to the Saints, &c, with which, through His Free Grace, He hath enriched You, to shine forth abundantly, beyond all exception of any that are, or have been Adversaries to Your Proceedings. Now as the design of Christ in these daies is double, namely, First, To overthrow Antichrist by the Wars of the Lamb; and Secondly, To raise up His own Kingdom in the room of all Earthly Powers which He doth cast down, and to bring all the World subject to be ruled in all things by the Word of His mouth. And as the Lord hath raised and improved You, to accomplish (so far as the Work hath proceeded) the first part of His Design, so I trust that the Lord will yet further improve You, to set upon the accomplishment of the second part of the design of Christ; not only by indeavoring to put Government into the hands of Saints, which the Lord hath made You eminently careful to do, but also by promoting Scripture Government and Laws, that so the Word of Christ might rule all. In which great Services unto the Name of Christ, I doubt not, but it will be some Comfort to Your heart to see the Kingdom of Christ rising up in these Western Parts of the World; and some confirmation it will be, that the Lords time is come to advance and spread His Blessed Kingdom, which shall (in his season)

fill all the Earth: and some incouragement to your heart to prosecute that part of the Design of Christ, namely, That Christ might Reign. Such Considerations, together with the Favorable Respect You have alwaies shewed to poor New-England, *hath imboldened me to present unto Your Hand, these first Confessions of that Grace which the Lord hath bestowed upon these poor Natives, and to publish them under the protection of Your Name, begging earnestly the continuance of Your Prayers for the further proceeding of this gracious Work: And so committing your Honor to the Lord, and to the Word of His Grace, and all Your weighty Affairs to His Heavenly Direction, I rest*

Your Honors to serve You,
in the service of Christ

JOHN ELIOT.

To the READER.

Christian Reader,

I *Know thy Soul longeth to hear Tydings of Gods grace powred out upon these goings down of the Sun, because the* Spirit *of God by the Word of Prophesie, useth to raise up and draw forth such actings of Faith, as accord with the accomplishment of those Prophesies, when the time of their accomplishment is come. When* Israel *was to return from* Babylon, *the Spirit by the word of Prophesie, raised up such actings of Faith, as were put forth in the exercise of all gifts necessary for the accomplishment thereof.* Daniel *prayeth.* Zerubbabel *hath a Spirit of Ruling the peoples affections are loose from their dwellings, and have a Spirit of Traveling.* Ezra, Nehemiah, *and all the rest of the Worthies of the Lord, are raised at that time to accomplish what is Prophesied. In these times the Prophesies of* Antichrist *his downfall are accomplishing. And do we not see that the Spirit of the Lord, by the word of Prophesie, hath raised up men, instruments in the Lords hand, to accomplish what is written herein. And the Spirit of Prayer, and expectation of Faith is raised generally in all Saints, by the same word of Prophesie. In like manner the Lord having said,* That the Gospel shall spread over all the Earth, even to all the ends of the Earth; and from the riseing to the setting Sun; all Nations shal become the Nations, and Kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ. *Such words of Prophesie hath the Spirit used to stir up the servants of the Lord to make out after the accomplishment thereof: and hath stirred up a mighty Spirit of Prayer, and expectation of Faith for the Conversion both of the* Jewes, (*yea all* Israel) *and of the* Gentiles *also over all the world. For this Cause I know every beleeving*

neart, awakened by such Scriptures, longeth to hear of the Conversion of our poor Indians, *whereby such Prophesies are in part begun to be accomplished. Yea, the Design of Christ being to erect his own Kingdom, in the room of all those Dominions, which he doth, and is about to overturn: You shall see a Spirit by such words of Prophesie powred forth upon the Saints (into whose hands Christ will commit the manageing of his Kingdom on Earth) that shall carry them forth to advance Christ to rule over men in all affairs, by the word of his mouth, and make him their only Law-giver, and supream Judge, and King.*

It is a day of small things with us: and that is Gods season to make the single beauty of his humbling Grace, to shine in them, that are the veriest ruines of mankind that are known on earth; as Mr. Hooker *was wont to describe the forlorn condition of these poor* Indians. *I see evident demonstrations that Gods Spirit by his word hath taught them, because their expressions, both in Prayer, and in the Confessions which I have now published, are far more, and more full, and spiritual, and various, then ever I was able to express unto them; in that poor broken manner of Teaching which I have used among them. Their turning doctrins into their own experience, which you may observe in their Confessions, doth also demonstrate the Teachings of Gods Spirit, whose first special work is Application. Their different Gifts likewise, is a thing observable in their Confessions, wherein it is not to be expected that they should be all Eminent, it is not so in any Society of men; but in that there be some among them that are more eminent, it is a sign of Gods favor, who is raising up among themselves, such as shall be his instruments to conveigh a blessing unto the rest. Their frequent phrase of Praying to God, is not to be understood of that Ordinance and Duty of Prayer only, but of all Religion, and comprehendeth the same meaning, with them, as the word [Religion] doth with us: And it is observable, because it seemeth to me, That the Lord will make them a Praying people: and indeed, there is a great Spirit of Prayer powred out upon them, to my wonderment; and you may easily apprehend, That they who*

are assisted to express such Confessions before men, are not without a good measure of inlargement of Spirit before the Lord.

The points of Doctrine that are here and there dropped in their Confessions, may suffice at present for a little taste to the Godly discerning Saints, That they are in some measure instructed in the chief points of Salvation, though there be no Doctrinal Confession on purpose set down to declare what they have learned, and do beleeve.

If any should conceive that that word which they so often use [I thought, *or* I think] *should need explication, as a godly Brother did intimate to me on the Fast day, let this suffice, That it is to be Construed by the present Matter: For sometimes it is a thought of Faith; sometime of fear: sometime of Unbelief; sometime of Carnal Reason; and sometime of Ignorance.*

Lastly, It is plainly to be observed, That one end of Gods sending so many Saints to New-England, *was the Conversion of these* Indians. *For the Godly Counsels, and Examples they have had in all our Christian Families, have been of great use, both to prepare them for the Gospel, and also to further the Lords work in them, as you may evidently discern in most of their Confessions.*

Beloved Reader, I have no more to say as necessary to Prepare for the following Matter, only to beg, yea earnestly to beg the continuance of all your Prayers; by the power whereof (through the Grace and Intercession of Christ) I beleeve this wheele of Conversion of these Indians, *is turned: and my Heart hath been alwayes thereby encouraged to follow on to do that poor little I can, to help forward this blessed Work of Spreading and Exalting the Kingdom of our dear Savior Jesus Christ, under the direction and protection of whose Word and Grace, by Faith committing you; I rest,*

Your unworthy Brother,

in our dear Savior,

John Eliot.

To the Christian Reader.

THE Amplitude and large extent of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ upon Earth, when *the Heathen shall be his Inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the Earth his Possession; and when all Kings shall fall down unto him, and all Nations do him service, all contrary Kingdoms and Powers being broken in pieces and destroyed,* is a thing plainly and plentifully foretold and promised in the Holy Scriptures; *Psal.* 2. 8. and 22. 27. and 72. 11. and 86. 9. *Dan.* 2. 35. 44, 45. and 7. 26, 27. *Zech.* 14. 9. And although as yet our Eyes have never seen it so, nor our Fathers afore us, many Nations and People having hitherto been overspread, and overwhelmed in Pagan Blindness and Ignorance, having scarce ever heard of Christ, or of His Name; and many others that in some sort have heard of Him, having no more Grace but to make and maintain Opposition against Him, and against His Kingdom, some more professedly, and others more covertly and under fairer pretence, as in the great Dominions of the *Turk*, and of the *Pope*, is apparent; yet *the time is coming, when things shall not thus continue but be greatly changed and altered, because the Lord hath spoken this Word, and it cannot be that his Word should not take effect:* And if the Lord have spoken it, his People have good ground and reason to beleeve it, and to say as the holy Apostle in another case, *I beleeve God that it shall be even as it was told me, Act.* 27. 25. Yea, to beleeve it and wait for it, as for that which in Gods appointed and due time shall surely come to pass, and not fail, as *Hab.* 2. 3. And not only so, but heartily to desire it, and fervently to pray for it, as a thing wherein the Glo-

ry of God, and of Jesus Christ is not a little concerned and interessed; for if the multitude of People be the Kings Honor, *Prov.* 14. 28. it must needs be the Honor of Christ Jesus the King of *Sion*, when multitudes of People do submit unto Him as to their King; and therefore it should be earnestly craved of God by all his Saints in their Prayers, that so it may be, according as the Sanctifying of Gods Name, and the coming of his Kingdom are the two first Petitions in that Rule and Pattern of Prayer commanded and taught by our Savior to his Disciples, *Matth.* 6. 9, 10. And no man needs to doubt but that those things which are matter for Faith and Prayer to be exercised about their accomplishment, are matters of Thanksgiving when once they come to pass.

Which being so, the godly Christian, who shall read or hear this ensuing Relation concerning the workings of Gods Grace towards these Indians in *New-England*, and the Confessions of sundry amongst them, will, I doubt not, see abundant cause of thanksgiving to the Lord therein. For hereby it will appear, That the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus which every faithful soul, doth so much desire to see enlarged, is now beginning to be set up where it never was before, even amongst a poor people, forlorn kind of Creatures in times past, who have been without Christ, and without God in the world, they and their Fathers, for I know not how many Generations; yea, so far from knowing and acknowledging God in Christ, that they have been little better than the beasts that perish. But now they that were far off, the Lord is at work to make them neer unto himself by the blood of Jesus, as *Eph.* 2. 13. that they which in time past were not a People, might ere long become the People of God; and they be called Beloved, which were not Beloved; and in the place where it was said unto them, *Ye are not my People*, that there ere long, they might be called, *The Children of the Living God*, as 1 *Pet.* 2. 10. *Rom.* 9. 25, 26. which is the Lords doing, and it ought to be marvelous in our eyes. And the truth is, there are many marvels in it; marvelous free-grace, and riches

thereof, to look upon a People so wretched and unworthy; yea, it were marvelous Grace so much as once to offer the Salvation of God in Christ to any such as they are, being not only the poor and maimed, halt and blind, but also, as it is in *Luk.* 14. 21. ranging and roving in the High-waies, and Hedges; and yet behold, even these are not only invited, but their hearts inclined to come in. Marvelous Wisdom and Power is in it also that of matter so rugged, and unlikely the Lord should ever frame and fashion any gracious and holy building to Himself, which I hope he is now a doing. And to say no more, His mervelous Soveraignty and Liberty is therein to be observed also, who till now of late hath seen meet never to look after this People, but hath suffered them all this while to walk in their own waies, waies of Sin, and waies of Death: yea, and though there hath been Plantations of the English in the Country now 20. years and more, yea, some matter of 30. years or thereabout, yet of all this time (except some little workings in a few) no considerable work of Grace hath appeared amongst the Indians till now of late; so true is that saying, *The times and seasons, the Father hath put them in his own Power, Act.* 1. 7.

If any shall say, Oh but, we are doubtful whether any sound and saving work be yet wrought in them or no: Such an one I would wish seriously to weigh and consider the ensuing Confessions, and then perhaps he will be better satisfied touching this Point; for there he shall find many expressions savoring of their clear sight and sence of sin, and that not only of gross and external sins, but also of such as are more inward in the Heart and Soul: Also he shall find expressions tending to shew their expecting all righteousness and salvation by Christ alone. Now considering how the Work of the Spirit of God is said by Christ Himself to consist in great part in convincing of sin, and of righteousness; of sin in mens selves, and of righteousness in Christ, *Joh.* 16. 9. And considering also, how the least beginnings of Grace are accepted of him that would not break the bruised Reed,

nor quench the smoaking Flax, *Matth.* 12. 20. And lastly, considering how it were not reasonable to expect such ripeness in these people, as might be expected and found in others, who have had more time and means, and better help and breeding than these have had: If these things I say be considered, it may be an Inducement to hope the best in charity concerning the Work of Grace in their Souls, as Charity hopeth all things, beleeveth all things, 1 *Cor.* 13. But thus much at the least I conceive is cleer, and cannot be denied that since the Word of God hath been taught and preached among them, the Spirit of the Lord hath been working thereby in the hearts of many of them such Illumination, such Conviction, &c, as may justly be looked at (if not as a full and through Conversion, yet) as an hopeful beginning and preparation thereto, if the Lord be pleased to go on with what he hath begun, as I hope he will. And if there were no more but only a hopeful beginning, and preparative to Conversion, yet even this were matter of much comfort to the Saints, and of thanksgiving to the Lord; as it was in *Israel* at the building of the Temple, when no more was yet done, but only the foundation laid, *Ezr.* 3. 10, 11. yet even then they sung for joy, giving praise and thanksgiving to the Lord: How much more should it be so, if the Work of Regeneration be already truly wrought in any of them, as I hope it is in sundry; In such case, how ever it be with men on Earth, sure there is joy in Heaven amongst the Angels of God, when there is so much as one sinner that is truly brought home to God by Repentance, *Luke* 15. 7. 10.

But how shall we know that the Confessions here related, being spoken in their Tongue, were indeed uttered by them in such words, as have the same signification and meaning with these that are here expressed, for we have only the testimony of one man to assure us of it? It is true, we have only the testimony of one man for it; but yet it is such an one, as is unwillingly alone in this matter, having seriously endeavored to have had divers other Interpreters present at *Natick* that day, but could

not obtain what he did desire and endeavor herein; a man whose pious and painful labors amongst this People have rendred him approved and highly honored in the eyes of his Brethren about him, for indefatigable diligence, and earnest love to the Lord Jesus, and their poor souls; a man whose integrity and faithfulness is so well known in these Parts, as giveth sufficient satisfaction to beleev that he would not wittingly utter a falshood in any matter whatever, and much less so many falshoods, & that in such a publick manner, in the view of God & the World, as he must needs have done if he have coyned these Confessions of his own head, and have not to his best understanding truly related them in our Tongue, according as they were uttered by them in theirs.

If any shall then ask, If there be such a Work of God amongst them, Why were they not combined and united into Church-Estate, when there was that great Assembly at *Natick*, on the thirteenth of *Octob.* last? Such an one may do well to consider, that the material Temple was many yeers in building, even in the daies of *Solomon*, who wanted no helps and furtherances thereunto, but was abundantly furnished therewith, and longer in Reedifying after the Captivity; and therefore no marvel if the building of a Spiritual Temple, an holy Church to Christ, and a Church out of such rubbish as amongst Indians, be not begun and ended on a sudden; It is rather to be wondered at, that in so short a time, the thing is in so much forwardness as it is. Besides, It is a greater matter to have Indians accepted and owned as a Church amongst themselves, and so to be invested with all Church-power as a Church, when yet they are not furnished with any to be an able Pastor and Elder over them, by whom they might be directed and guided in all the Affairs of the Church, and Administrations of the House of God: this I conceive is a far greater matter than the admitting of them as Members into any Church or Churches of the English already so furnished; which latter (for ought I know) might speedily be done, and with much satisfaction, if it were suitable in regard of

their different Language, and the remoteness of their Habitations, whereas to the former there seems to be a great necessity, or expediency at the least, that they should first be provided of some to be afterward set over them in the Lord. Even amongst the English, when any company amongst us have united themselves into Church-Estate, it hath been usual that they have had one or other amongst them upon whom their eyes have been set, as intending them to be Pastors or Teachers to them; afterward, when once they should be combined as a Church, and where it hath so been, they have found the Comfort and benefit of it; whereas those few that have proceeded otherwise, have found trouble and inconveniency therein. And if it be so amongst the English, who usually have better abilities, how much more amongst the Indians, whose knowledg and parts must needs be far less? Not to insist upon the Rehearsal of those two Reasons mentioned by the Reverend Author of this Relation, *viz.* The shortness of the time to furnish the Work that day, and the want of Interpreters, of whom there was not any present but himself. Concerning which Reasons, I can freely ad my testimony,that those two were the principal, if not the only Reasons which that day were insisted on, and publickly rendred for deferring the Inchurching of them to another time.

It may be some have thought, and I hear some have spoken little less, That this whol business of the Indians of which there have been so many speeches in Old *England* and New, is but a devise and design to get money, and that there is indeed no such matter as any Work of Gods grace amongst that People. But if there were any truth in this saying or Surmise, I marvel why the Magistrates and Elders then present at *Natick*, did upon the reasons rendred, advise the deferring of the inchurching of the Indians that day, and why they did not rather hasten forward the Work without any more ado, or longer delay. For the report of a Church of Indians would in all likelihood have more prevailed for the end alledged, than all that hath been reported hitherto. But our attend-

ing in this business to the Honor of Jesus Christ, and the good of these poor peoples souls, and so to that which Rule and right Reason required, rather than to what might seem conducible for worldly advantage, may be a sufficient witness of our sincerity, contrary to the conceit and surmise afore mentioned, and a sufficient confutation of it. And yet though they be not combined into Church-Estate, there is so much of Gods Work amongst them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea, a great injury to God and his goodness for any to make light or nothing of it. To see and to hear Indians opening their mouths, and lifting up their hands and their eyes in solemn Prayer to the Living God, calling on him by his Name JEHOVAH, in the Mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the Word of God; to see them and hear them confessing the Name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness, sure this is more than usual. And though they spake in a language, of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that day, we saw them, and we heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in gesture, and their whol carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the checks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with much good affection, and holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts. Nor is it credible to me, nor for ought I know to any that was present that day, that in these things they were acted and led by that Spirit which is wont to breath amongst Indians, the Spirit of Satan or of corrupt Nature, but that herein they had with them another Spirit.

But if there be any work of Grace amongst them, it would surely bring forth, and be accompanied with the Reformation of their disordered lives, as in other things, so in their neglect of Labor, and their living in idleness and pleasure. I confess the Allegation is weighty, and I deny not but some sober and godly persons, who do heartily wish well to this work, have been as much trou-

bled in their minds touching this particular as any that I know of. But yet somthing may be said in answer therto, & chiefly this, That since the Word of God came amongst them, and that they have attended thereto, they have more applied themselves unto Labor then formerly: For evidence whereof, appeal may be made to what was seen at *Natick* that day, and is still to be seen in that place, I mean the Grounds that they have fenced in, and clawed and broken up, and especially their capacious Meeting-house, the Dimensions whereof are expressed in the Relation: little did I think when I saw that Fabrick, but that some English Carpenter or other had had the chief hand in the framing and erecting of it; and that more hands than Indians, yea, and more English than one had been employed about it. But now understanding that the Indians alone were the Builders of it, it is a good testimony to me both of their industry, and likewise of their Skill; for where these are utterly wanting, yea, where there is not some good measure of them, such a Building I conceive could never be raised. It is true, that considering the manner of their bringing up, being little accustomed to labor, but the contrary, it is not much to be marveled if they be not comparable therein to some English, who from their Child-hood have been trained up thereto; yet we see they are coming to it, and I hope will fall to it more and more; let all that love their souls, pray for them that they may, yea, let all that love the Lord Jesus Christ pray for them, that the Work of God may still prosper amongst them, that many more of them may be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and that being converted they may be preserved in Christ, and be built up in him to further growth and perfection, from day to day. And let unfeigned thanksgiving be rendred to the Lord by his Saints for all that is already wrought amongst them: And Oh, let the English take heed, both in our dear Native Country, and here, lest for our unthankfulness, and many other sins, the Lord should take the Gospel from us, and bestow our mercy therein upon them as upon a Nation that would yeeld the fruits thereof in

better sort than many of us have done. The sins of the Jewish Nation to whom the Gospel was first preached provoked God to take his Kingdom from them, and to call in the Gentils: yet it appeareth by *Rom.* 11. 11. 14. 31. that this mercy vouchsafed to the Gentiles, shall in time provoke the Jews to an holy Jealousie, and Emulation, to look after that mercy again that once they refused, that so through the mercy bestowed on the Gentiles, they (I mean the Jews) might at last again obtain mercy. Happy were the English if we could yeeld the fruits of Gods Gospel, that it might not be taken from us; and happy also if the mercy coming to these Indians (though not yet taken from us) might provoke us so to do, that so the Kingdom of God, the Gospel of Salvation, being not taken from us, and given to them, but though given to them, yet might still continue with us, and with our Posterity from Generation to Generation.

Dorchester in New-England
this 13th *of* 10ber 1652.

RICH. MATHER.

[p.1] ***A brief*** **Relation** ***of the Proceedings*** *of the Lords Work among the* INDIANS, *in reference unto their Church-Estate; The Reasons of the not accomplishing therof at present: With some of their* Confessions; *whereby it may be discerned in some measure how far the Lord has prepared among them fit Matter for a* CHURCH.

THese *Indians* (the better and wiser sort of them) have for some years inquired after Church-Estate, Baptism, and the rest of the Ordinances of God, in the observation whereof they see the Godly English to walk. I have from time to time, delayed them upon this point, That until they were come up unto Civil Cohabitation, Government, and Labor, which a fixed condition of life will put them upon, they were not so capable to be betrusted with that Treasure of Christ, lest they should scandalize the same, and make it of none effect, because if any should through temptation, fall under Censure, he could easily run away (as some have done) and would be tempted so to do, unless he were fixed in an Habitation, and had some means of livelihood to lose, and leave behind him: such Reasons have satisfied them hitherunto. But now being come under Civil Order, and fixing themselves in Habitations, and bending themselves to labor, as doth appear by their works of Fencings, Buildings &c. and especially [p.2] in building without any English Workmans help, or direction a very sufficient Meeting-House, of fifty foot long twenty five foot broad, neer twelve foot high betwixt the joints, wel sawen and framed (which is a specimen, not only of their singular ingenuity, and dexterity, but also of some industry) I say this being so, now my argument of delaying them from entering into Church-Estate, was taken away. Therefore in way of preparation of them thereunto, I did this Summer call forth sundry of them in the dayes of our publick Assemblies in Gods Worship; somtimes on the Sabbath when I could be with them, and sometimes on Lecture daies, to make confession

before the Lord of their former sins, and of their present knowledg of Christ, and experience of his Grace; which they solemnly doing, I wrote down their Confessions: which having done, and being in my own heart hopeful that there was among them fit matter for a Church, I did request all the Elders about us to hear them reade, that so they might give me advice what to do in this great, and solemn business; which being done on a day appointed for the purpose, it pleased God to give their Confessions such acceptance in their hearts, as that they saw nothing to hinder their proceeding, to try how the Lord would appear therein. Whereupon, after a day of Fasting and Prayer among our selves, to seek the Lord in that behalf, there was another day of Fasting and Prayer appointed, and publick notice thereof, and of the names of Indians were to confess, and enter into Covenant that day, was given to all the Churches about us, to seek the Lord yet further herein, and to make solemn Confessions of Christ his Truth and Grace, and further to try whether the Lord would vouchsafe such grace unto them, as to give them acceptance among the Saints, into the fellowship of Church-Estate, and enjoyment of those Ordinances which the Lord hath betrusted his Churches withal. That day was the thirteenth of the eighth month.

When the Assembly was met, the first part of the day was spent in Prayers unto God, and exercise in the Word of God; in which my self firt; and after that two of the Indians did Exercise; and so the time was spent till after ten or near[p.3] eleven of the clock. Then addressing our selves unto the further work of the day, I first requested the reverend Elders (many being present) that they would ask them Questions touching the fundamental Points of Religion, that thereby they might have some tryal of their knowledg, and better that way, than if them selves should of themselves declare what they beleeve, or than if I should ask them Questions in these matters: After a little conference hereabout, it was concluded, That they should first make confession of their experience in the Lords Work upon their hearts, because in so doing, it is like something will be discerned of their knowledg in the Doctrines of Religion: and if after those Confessions there should yet be cause to inquire further touching any Point of Religion it might be fitly done at last. Whereupon we so proceeded, and called them forth in order to make confession. It was moved in the Assembly by Reverend Mr. *Wilson*, that their former Confessions also, as well as these which they made at present, might be read unto the Assembly, because it was evident that they were daunted much, to speak before so great and grave an Assembly as that was, but time did not permit it so to be then: yet now in my writing of their Confessions I will take that course, that so it may appear what encouragement there was to proceed so far as we did; and that such as may reade these their Confessions, may the better discern of the reality of the Grace of Christ in them.

[p. 4.] *The first which was called forth is named* Tother-swamp, *whose former Confession read before the Elders, was as followeth:*

BEfore I prayed unto God, the English, when I came unto their houses, often said unto me, Pray to God; but I having many friends who loved me, and I loved them, and they cared not for praying to God, and therefore I did not: But I thought in my heart, that if my friends should die, and I live, I then would pray to God; soon after, God so wrought, that they did almost all die, few of them left; and then my heart feared, and I thought, that now I will pray unto God, and yet I was ashamed to pray; and if I eat and did not pray, I was ashamed of that also; so that I had a double shame upon me: Then you came unto us, and taught us, and said unto us, *Pray unto God;* and after that, my heart grew strong, and I was no more ashamed to pray, but I did take up praying to God; yet at first I did not think of God and eternal Life, but only that the English should love me and I loved them: But after I came to learn what sin was, by the Commandements of God, and then I saw all my sins, lust, gaming, &c. (he named more.) You taught, That Christ knoweth all our hearts, and seeth what is in them, if humility, or anger, or evil thoughts, Christ seeth all that is in the heart; then my heart feared greatly, because God was angry for all my sins; yea, now my heart is full of evil thoughts, and my heart runs away from God, therefore my heart feareth and mourneth. Every day I see sin in my heart; one man brought sin into the World, and I am full of that sin, and I break Gods Word every day. I see I deserve not pardon, for the first mans sinning; I can do no good, for I am like the Devil, nothing but evil thoughts, and words, and works. I have lost all likeness to God, and goodness, and therefore [p.5.] every day I sin against God, and I deserve death and damnation: The first man brought sin first, and I do every day ad to that sin, more sins; but Christ hath done for us all righteousness,and died for us because of our sins,and Christ teacheth us, That if we cast away our sins, and trust in Christ, then God will pardon all our sins; this I beleeve Christ hath done, I can do no righteousness, but Christ hath done it for me; this I beleeve, and therefore I do hope for pardon. When I first heard the Commandements, I then took up praying to God and cast off sin. Again, When I heard, and unerstood Redemption by Christ, then I beleeved Jesus Christ to take away my sins: every Commandement taught me sin, and my duty to God. When you ask me why do I

love God? I answer, Because he giveth me all outward blessings, as food, clothing, children, all gifts of strength, speech, hearing; especially that he giveth us a Minister to teach us, and giveth us Government; and my heart feareth lest Government should reprove me; but the greatest mercy of all is Christ, to give us pardon and life.

Totherswamp

The Confession which he made on the Fast day before the great Assembly, was as followeth:

I Confess in the presence of the Lord, before I prayed, many were my sins, not one good word did I speak, not one good thought did I think, not one good action did I doe: I did act all sins, and full was my heart of evil thoughts; when the English did tell me of God, I cared not for it, I thought it enough if they loved me: I had many friends that loved me, and I thought if they died I would pray to God: and afterward it so came to pass; then was my heart ashamed, to pray I was ashamed, & if I prayed not, I was ashamed; a double shame was [p. 6.] upon me: when God by you taught us, very much ashamed was my heart; then you taught us that Christ knoweth all our harts: therefore truly he saw my thoughts, and I had thought, if my kindred should die I would pray to God; therfore they dying, I must now pray to God: and therefore my heart feared, for I thought Christ knew my thoughts: then I heard you teach, *The first man God made was named* Adam, *& God made a Covenant with him, Do and live, thou and thy Children; if thou do not thou must die, thou and thy Children:* And we are Children of *Adam* poor sinners, therefore we all have sinned, for we have broke Gods Covenant, therefore evil is my heart, therefore God is very angry with me, we sin against him every day; but this great mercy God hath given us, he hath given us his only Son, and promiseth, That whosoever beleeveth in Christ shall be saved: for Christ hath dyed for us in our stead, for our sins, and he hath done for us all the words of God, for I can do no good act, only Christ can, and only Christ hath done all for us; Christ have deserved pardon for us, and risen again, he hath ascended to God, and doth ever pray for us; therefore all Beleevers Souls shall goe to Heaven to Christ. But when I heard that word of Christ, Christ said *Repent and Beleeve*, and Christ seeth *who Repenteth*, then I said, dark and weak is my Soul, and I am one in darkness, I am a very sinful man, and now I pray to Christ for life. Hearing you teach that Word that the Scribes and Pharisees said *Why do thy Disciples break the Tradition of the Fathers?* Christ answered, *Why do ye make void the Commandements of God?* Then my

heart feared that I do so, when I teach the Indians, because I cannot teach them right, and thereby make the word of God vain. Again, Christ said *If the blind lead the blind they will both fall into the ditch*; Therfore I feared that I am one blind, and when I teach other Indians I shal caus them to fall into the ditch. This is the love of God to me, that he giveth me all mercy in this world, and for them al I am thankfull; but I confess I deserve Hell; I cannot deliver my self, but I give my Soul and my Flesh to Christ, and I trust my soul with him for he is my Redeemer, and I desire to call upon him while I live.

[p. 7.] This was his Confesssion which ended, Mr. *Allin* further demanded of him this Question, How he found his heart, now in the matter of Repentance

His answer was; I am ashamed of all my sins, my heart is broken for them and melteth in me, I am angry with my self for my sins, and I pray to Christ to take away my sins, and I desire that they may be pardoned.

But it was desired that further Question might be forborn, lest time would be wanting to here them all speak.

Then Waban *was called forth whose Confession was as followeth; no former confession of his being read unto the Elders.*

BEfore I heard of God, and before the English came into this Country, many evil things my heart did work, many thoughts I had in my heart; I wished for riches, I wished to be a witch, I wished to be a Sachem; and many such other evils were in my heart: Then when the English came, still my heart did the same things; when the English taught me of God (I coming to their Houses) I would go out of their doors, and many years I knew nothing; when the English taught me I was angry with them: But a little while agoe after the great sikness, I considered what the English do; and I had some desire to do as they do; and after that I began to work as they work; and then I wondered how the English come to be so strong to labor; then I thought I shall quickly die, and I feared lest I should die before I prayed to God; then I thought, if I prayed to God in our Language, whether could God understand my prayers in our Language; therefore I did ask Mr. *Jackson*, and Mr. *Mahu*, If God understood prayers in our Language? They answered me God doth understand all Languages in the World. But I do not [p. 8.] know how to confess, and little do I know of Christ; I fear I shall not beleeve a great while, and very slowly; I do not know what grace is in my

heart, there is but little good in me; but this I know, That Christ hath kept all Gods Commandements for us, and that Christ doth know all our hearts; and now I desire to repent of all my sins: I neither have done, nor can do the Commandements of the Lord, but I am ashamed of all I do, and I do repent of all my sins, even of all that I do know of: I desire that I may be converted from all my sins, and that I might beleeve in Christ, and I desire him; I dislike my sins, yet I do not truly pray to God in my heart: no matter for good words, all is the true heart; and this day I do not so much desire good words, as throughly to open my heart: I confess I can do nothing, but deserve damnation; only Christ can help me and do for me. But I have nothing to say for my self that is good; I judg that I am a sinner, and cannot repent, but Christ hath deserved pardon for us.

This Confession being not so satisfactory as was desired, Mr. *Wilson* testified, that he spake these latter expressions with tears, which I observed not, because I attended to writing; but I gave this testimony of him, That his conversation was without offence to the English, so far as I knew, and among the Indians it was exemplar: his gift is not so much in expressing himself this way, but in other respects useful and eminent; it being demanded in what respects, I answered to this purpose, That his gift lay in Ruling, Judging of Cases, wherein he is patient, constant, and prudent, insomuch that he is much respected among them, for they have chosen him a Ruler of Fifty, and he Ruleth well according to his measure. It was further said, they thought he had been a great drawer on to Religion; I replyed, so he was in his way, and did prevail with many; and so it rested.

[p.9.] *The next that was called, was* William *of* Sudbury, *his Indian Name is* Nataôus, *his former Confession read before the Elders, was as followeth:*

I Confess that before I prayed, I committed all manner of sins, and served many gods: when the English came first, I going to their houses, they spake to me of your God, but when I heard of God, my heart hated it; but when they said the Devil was my god, I was angry, because I was proud: when I came to their houses I hated to hear of God, I loved lust in my own house and not God, I loved to pray to many gods. Five years ago, I going to English houses, and they speaking of God, I did a little like of it, yet when I went again to my own house, I did all manner of sins, and in my heart I did act allsins though I would not be seen by man. Then going to your

house, I more desired to hear of God ; and my heart said, I will pray to God so long as I live : then I went to the Minister Mr. *Browns* house, and told him I would pray as long as I lived : but he said I did not say it from my heart, and I beleeve it. When *Waban* spake to me that I should pray to God, I did so. But I had greatly sinned against God, and had not beleeved the Word but was proud : but then I was angry with my self, and loathed my self, and thought God will not forgive me my sins. For when I had been abroad in the woods I would be very angry, and would lye unto men, and I could not find the way how to be a good man : then I beleeved your teaching, That when good men die, the Angels carry their souls to God ; but evil men dying, they go to Hell, and perish for ever. I thought this a true saying, and I promised to God, to pray to God as long as I live. I had a little grief in my heart five years ago for my sins : but many were my [p.10.] prides ; somtime I was angry with my self, and pityed my self ; but I thought God would not pardon such a proud heart as mine is : I beleeve that Christ would have me to forsake my anger ; I beleeve that Christ hath redeemed us, and I am glad to hear those words of God ; and I desire that I might do al the good waies of God, and that I might truly pray unto God : I do now want Graces, and these Christ only teacheth us, and only Christ hath wrought our redemption, and he procureth our pardon for all our sins ; and I beleeve that when beleevers dy, Gods Angels carry them to Heaven ; but I want faith to beleeve the Word of God, and to open my Eyes, and to help me to cast away all sins ; and Christ hath deserved for me eternall life : I have deserved nothing my self ; Christ hath deserved, all, and giveth me faith to beleeve it.

William *of* Sudbury :

His Indian Name is

NATAÔUS.

The Confession which he made on the fast day before the great Assembly was as followeth.

BEfore I prayed to God I commited all sins ; and serving many gods. I much despised praying unto God, for I beleeved the Devil, and he did dayly teach me to sin, and I did them : somtimes hearing of God my heart did hate it, and went to my own house, because I did love to commit all sin there. About Six years ago a little I liked to hear of God, and yet I hated that which was good : hearing that *Cutshamoquin* prayed, then I thought I will pray also : a year after, I heard of praying to God, and I went to Mr. *Browns*

house and told him I will pray to God as long as live; he said, I doubt of it, and bid me cut off my hair, and I did so presently; and then I desired to be like God, and Jesus Christ, and to call [p.11] on him, but I found it very hard to beleeve; yet Ithought, I will pray as long as I live. Hearing that Word, That Christ dyed for us, was buried & rose again, and hearing of that Word also, Seek peace & imbrace the Word: then I began to beleeve that Christ died for us, for sin; and I saw my heart very full of sin. And hearing that word, That Christ went to the Mount *Olivet*, and ascended, I beleeved and thought, Oh that God would pardon me; but I fear he will not, because I have been so long time a sinner. Somtime I am angry with my self, for my many Evil thoughts in my heart; and to this day I want grace, and cannot confess, because I have been so great a sinner: and this day I confess, a little I pray, and that I can pray but a little and weakly. When I heard that word of God, That all from the rising to the setting Sun shall pray I first understood it not, and wondered how it should be: after I saw that when they beleeve and obey God, then he will teach them to do right things, and God will teach us to do al things for God, sleeping and waking to be with God. But still do foolishly and not according to my prayer: I cannot get pardon of my sins, for my sins are great in thought, word, and deed: and no man can cast off his own sins, but that is the work of Christ only to work it in us; a man cannot make a right prayer but when Christ assisteth him; then we shall do all things well. I beleeve that Christ is God, and the Son of God because when he dyed, he rose again, and he dyed for our sins; and I beleeve he is in Heaven and ever prayeth for us, and sendeth his gospel unto us: and I am angry with my self, because I do not beleeve the word of God, and gospel of Jesus Christ.

[p. 12.] *The next which was called forth was* Monequassun, *who is our Schoolmaster; whose former Confession, read before the Elders, was as followeth.*

I Confess my sorrow for all my sins against God, and before men: When I first heard instruction, I beleeved not, but laughed at it, and scorned praying to God; afterward, when we were taught at *Cohannet* (that is the place where he lived) I still hated praying, and I did think of running away, because I cared not for praying to God; but afterwards, because I loved to dwell at that place, I would not leave the place, and therfore I thought I will pray to God, because I would still stay at that place, therefore I prayed not for the love of God, but for love of the place I lived in; after that I desired a

little to learn the Catechisme on the Lecture daies, and I did learn the ten Commandements, and after that, all the points in the Catechisme; yet afterwards I cast them all away again, then was my heart filled with folly, and my sins great sins, afterwards by hearing, I began to fear, because of my many sins, lest the wise men should come to know them, and punish me for them; and then again I thought of running away because of my many sins: But after that I thought I would pray rightly to God, and cast away my sins; then I saw my hypocricy, because I did ask some questions, but did not do that which I knew: afterward I considered of my question, and thought I would pray to God, and would consider of some other Question, and I asked this, Question, *How should I get Wisdom?* and the Answer to it did a little turn my heart from sin, to seek after God; and I then considered that the Word of God was good; then I prayed [p.13] to God because of the Word of God. The next Lecture day you taught that word of God, *If any man lack Wisdom, let him ask it of God, who giveth freely to them that ask him, and upbraideth no man, James*, 1. 5. Then again a little my heart was turned after God, the Word also said, *Repent, mourn, and beleeve in Jesus Christ:* this also helped me on. Then you taught, *That he that beleeveth not Christ, and repenteth not of sin, they are foolish and wicked; and because they beleeve not, they shall perish:* then I thought my self a fool, because I beleeved not Christ, but sinned every day, and after I heard the Word greatly broke the Word. But afterward I heard this promise of God *Who ever repenteth and beleeveth in Christ, God will forgive him all his sins, he shall not perish;* then I thought, that as yet, I do not repent, and beleeve in Christ: then I prayed to God, because of this his Promise; and then I prayed to God, for God and for Christ his sake: after that again I did a little break the Word of Christ. And then I heard some other words of God, which shewed me my sins, and my breakings of Gods word; and sometimes I thought God and Christ would forgive me, because of the promise to them that beleeve in Christ, and repent of sin, I thought I did that which God spake in the Promise. Then being called to confess, to prepare to make a Church at *Natick*, I loved *Cohannet*; but after hearing this instruction, *That we should not only be Hearers, but Doers of the Word*, then my heart did fear. And afterward hearing that in *Matthew*, Christ saw two brethren mending their Nets, he said, *Follow me and I will make you Fishers of men*, presently they followed Christ; and when I heard this, I feared, because I was not willing to follow Christ to *Natick*; they followed Christ at his Word, but I did not, for now Christ saith to us, *follow Me:* then I was much troubled, and considered of this Word of God. Afterward I heard another word, the blind men cried after Christ and said, *Have mercy on us thou Son of David*, but after they came to Christ he called them, and asked them, *What shall I do for you?* they said,

Lord open our eyes; then Christ had pity on them, and opened their eyes, and they followed Christ; when I heard this, my heart was troubled, then I prayed to [p. 14.] God and Christ, to open mine eyes, and if Christ open my eyes, then I shall rejoyce to follow Christ: then I considered of both these Scriptures, and I a little saw that I must follow Christ. And now my heart desireth to make confession of what I know of God, and of my self, and of Christ: I beleeve that there is only one God, and that he made and ruleth all the World, and that he the Lord, giveth us al good things: I know that God giveth every day all good mercies, life, and health, and all; I have not one good thing, but God it is that giveth it me, I beleeve that God at first made man like God, holy, wise, righteous; but the first man sinned, for God promised him, *If thou do my Commandements, thou shalt live, and thy Children; but if thou sin, thou shalt die, thou and thy children;* this Covenant God made with the first man. But the first man did not do the Commandements of God he did break Gods Word, he beleeved Satan; and now I am full of sin, because the first man brought sin; dayly I am full of sin in my heart: I do not dayly rejoyce in Repentance, because Satan worketh dayly in my heart, and opposeth Repentance, and all good Works; day and night my heart is full of sin. I beleeve that Jesus Christ was born of the *Virgin Mary;* God promised her she should bear a Son,and his Name should be J E S U S, because he shall deliver his people from their sins: And when Christ came to preach, he said, *Repent, because the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand*; again Christ taught, *Except ye repent and become as a little child, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven;* therefore humble your selves like one of these little children, and great shall be your Kingdom in Heaven. Again Christ said, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden with sin, and I will give you rest: take up my Cross and Yoak, learn of me for I am meek, and ye shall find rest to your souls, for my yoak is easie and burden light:* these are the Words of Christ and I know Christ he is good, but my works are evil: Christ his words are good, but I am not humble; but if we be humble and beleeving in Christ, he pardons all our sins. I now desire to beleeve in Jesus Christ, because of the word of Christ, that I may be converted and become as a little Child. I confess my sins before God, and before Jesus [p. 15.]Christ this day; now I desire all my sins may be pardoned; I now desire repentance in my heart, and ever to beleeve in Christ; now I lift up my heart to Christ, and trust him with it, because I beleeve Christ died for us, for all our sins, and deserved for us eternal life in Heaven, and deserved pardon for all our sins. And now I give my soul to Christ because he hath redeemed: I do greatly love, and like repentance in my heart, and I love to beleeve in Jesus Christ, and my heart is broken by repentance: al these things I do like wel of, that they may be in my heart, but

because Christ hath all these to give, I ask them of him that he may give me repentance, and faith in Christ, and therefore I pray and beseech Christ dayly for repentance and faith; and other good waies I beg of Christ dayly to give me: and I pray to Christ for al these gifts and graces to put them in my heart: and now I greatly thank Christ for all these good gifts which he hath given me. I know not any thing, nor can do any thing that is a good work: even my heart is dark dayly in what I should do, and my soul dyeth because of my sins, and therefore I give my soul to Christ, because my soul is dead in sin, and dayly doth commit sin; in my heart I sin, and all the members of my body are sinful. I beleeve Jesus Christ is ascended to Heaven through the clouds, and he will come again from Heaven: Many saw Christ go up to Heaven, and the Angels said, even so he will come again to judg all the world; and therefore I beleeve Gods promise, That all men shall rise again when Christ cometh again, then all shall rise, and all their souls comes again because Christ is trusted with them, and keeps their souls, therefore I desire my sins may be pardoned; and I beleeve in Christ; and ever so long as I live, I will pray to God, and do all the good waies he commandeth.

[p. 16.] Monequassun,

The Confession which he made on the Fast day before the great Assembly was as followeth

I Confess my sins before the Lord, and before men this day: a little while since I did commit many sins, both in my hands and heart; lusts, thefts, and many other sins, and that every day: and after I heard of praying to God, and that others prayed to God, my heart did not like it, but hated it, yea and mocked at it; and after they prayed at *Cohannet* I stil hated it, and when I heard the Word I did not like of it but thought of running away, because I loved sin: but I loved the place of my dwelling, and therfore I thought I wil rather pray to God, and began to do it; a little I desired to learn the ten Commandements of God, and other points of Catechisme; and then a little I repented, but I was quickly weary of repentance, and fell again to sin, and full of evil thoughts was my heart: and then I played the Hypocrite, and my heart was full of sin: I learned some things, but did not do what God commanded, but I sinned and playd the hypocrite; some things I did before man but not before God. But afterward I feared because of my sins, and feared punishment for my sins, therefore I thought again I would run away; yet again I loving the place, would not run away, but would pray to God: and I asked a Question at the Lecture, which was this, *How I should get Wisdom?* the Answer made me a little to understand: but afterward I heard the word *If any man lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, who*

giveth liberally to all that ask, and upbraideth none. But then I did fear Gods anger, because of all my sins, because they were great. Afterward hearing that Word, That Christ is named *Jesus*, because he redeemeth us from all our sins: I thought Christ [p. 17.] would not save me, because I repent not, for he saveth only penitent Beleevers; but I am not such an one, but still a dayly sinner. Afterward hearing that Word, *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness for they shall be filled:* then I thought I am a poor sinner and poor is my heart: then I prayed to God to teach me to do that which he requireth, and to pray aright. Afterward hearing that word, *Who ever looks upon a Woman to lust after her, hath already committed Adultry with her in his heart;* then I thought I had done all manner of sins in the sight of God, because he seeth lust in the heart,and knoweth all the evil thoughts of my heart; and then I did pray unto God, *Oh! give me Repentance and Pardon.* Afterwards when I did teach among the Indians, I was much humbled because I could not reade right, and that I sinned in it; for I saw that when I thought to do a good work, I sinned in doing it, for I knew not what was right nor how to do it. In the night I was considering of my sins and could not find what to do: three nights I considered what to do, and at last God shewed me mercy, and shewed me what I should do. And then I desired to learn to read Gods Word, and hearing that if we ask wisdom of God, he will give it, then I did much pray to God, that he would teach me to reade. After a years time, I thought I did not rightly seek, and I thought I sinned, because I did not rightly desire to read Gods Word, and I thought my praying was sinful, and I feared, how should I, my wife, and child be cloathed, if I spend my time in learning to reade; but then God was merciful to me, and shewed me that Word,*Say not, what shall I eat, or drink, or wherewith shall I be cloathed, wicked men seek after these; but first seek the Kingdom of Heaven, and these things shall be added to you;* then I prayed God to teach me this word, and that I might do it: and then I desired to read Gods word, what ever I wanted. Afterward hearing that we must make a Town, and gather a Church at *Natick*, my heart disliked that place; but hearing that word, *That Christ met two Fishers, and said, follow me, and I will make you fishers of men, and presently they left all and followed him;* hearing this I was much troubled, because I had not beleeved Christ, for I would not [p. 18.] follow him to make a Church, nor had I done what he commanded me, and then I was troubled for all my sins. Again hearing that word *That the blind man called after Christ, saying thou Son of* David *have mercy on me; Christ asked him what he would have him do; he said, Lord open my eyes;* and presently Christ gave him sight, and he followed Christ: then again my heart was troubled, for I thought I still beleeve not, because I do not follow Christ, nor hath he yet opened mine eyes: then I prayed to Christ to open my eyes,

that I might see what to do, because I am blind and cannot see how to follow Christ, and do what he commandeth, and I prayed to Christ, Teach me Lord what to do, and to do what thou sayest; and I prayed that I might follow Christ: and then I thought I will follow Christ to make a Church. All this trouble I had to be brought to be willing to make a Church: and quickly after, God laid upon me more trouble, by sickness and death; and then I much prayed to God for life, for we were all sick, and then God would not hear me, to give us life; but first one of my Children died, and after that my Wife; then I was in great sorrow, because I thought God would not hear me, and I thought it was because I would not follow him, therefore he hears not me: then I found this sin in my heart, That I was angry at the punishment of God: but afterward I considered, I was a poor sinner, I have nothing, nor Child, nor Wife, I deserve that God should take away all mercies from me; and then I repented of my sins, and did much pray, and I remembred the promise to follow Christ, and my heart said, I had in this sinned, that followed not Christ, and therefore I cryed for pardon of this sin: and then hearing of this Word, *Who ever beleeveth in Christ his sins are pardoned, he beleeving that Christ died for us*; and I beleeved. Again hearing that Word, *If ye be not converted, and become as a little Child you cannot go to Heaven;* then my heart thought, I do not this, but I deserve Hell fire for ever; and then I prayed Christ, Oh! turn me from my sin, and teach me to hear thy Word; and I prayed to my Father in Heaven: and after this, I beleeved in Christ for pardon. Afterward I heard that Word, That it is a shame for a man [p. 19.] to wear long hair, and that there was no such custom in the Churches: at first I thought I loved not long hair, but I did and found it very hard to cut it off; and then I prayed to God to pardon that sin also: Afterward I thought my heart cared not for the Word of God: but then I thought I would give my self up unto the Lord, to do all his Word. Afterward I heard that word, *If thy right foot offend thee cut it off, or thy right hand, or thy right eye; its better to go to Heaven with one foot, or hand, or eye, than having both to go to Hell;* then I thought my hair had been a stumbling to me, therefore I cut it off, and grieved for this sin, and prayed for pardon. After hearing that word, *Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavie laden with your sins, and I will give rest to your souls;* then my heart thought that I do dayly hate my sins, Oh! that I could go to Christ! and Christ looketh I should come unto him, and therfore then I prayed, Oh! Christ help me to come unto thee: and I prayed because of all my sins that they may be pardoned. For the first man was made like God in holiness, and righteousness, and God gave him his Covenant; but *Adam* sinned, beleeving the Devil, therefore God was angry, and therefore all we Children of *Adam* are like the Devil, and dayly sin, and break every law of God, full of evil thoughts, words, and works, and only Christ can

deliver us from our sins, and he that beleeveth in Christ is pardoned; but my heart of myself cannot beleeve: Satan hath power in me, but I cry to God, Oh! give me faith, and pardon my sin, because Christ alone can deliver me from Hell; therefore I pray, Oh! Jesus Christ deliver me. Christ hath provided the new Covenant to save Beleevers in Christ, therefore I desire to give my soul to Christ, for pardon of all my sins: the first Covenant is broke by sin, and we deserve Hell; but Christ keepeth for us the new Covenant, and therefore I betrust my soul with Christ. Again, I desire to beleeve in Christ, because Christ will come to judgment, and all shall rise again, and all Beleevers in this life shall then be saved; therefore I desire to beleeve Christ, and mortifie sin as long as I live; and I pray Christ to help me to beleeve: and I thank God for all his mercies every [p. 20.] day: and now I confess before God that I loath my self for my sins and beg pardon.

Thus far he went in his Confession; but they being slow of speech time was far spent and a great assembly of English understanding nothing he said, only waiting for my interpretation, many of them went forth, others whispered, and a great confusion was in the House and abroad: and I perceived that the graver sort thought the time long, therfore knowing he had spoken enough unto satisfaction (at least as I judged) I here took him off. Then one of the Elders asked, if I took him off, or whether had he finished? I answered, That I took him off. So after my reading what he had said, we called another.

The next who was called forth was Ponampam, *who had formerly twice made confession, and both read before the Elders. His first Confession was as followeth.*

WHen God first had mercy on us, when they first prayed at *Noonanetum*, I heard of it, and the first word that I heard was, *That all from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, shall pray unto God*; and I thought, Oh! let it be so. After I considered what the word may be, and understood by it, That God was mercyfull; afterwards when you alwayes came to us, I only heard the word, I did not understand it, nor meditate on it, yet I found that al my doings were sins against God; then I prayed unto God. Afterwards I heard, That God would pardon all that beleeve in Christ! and quickly after I saw my sins to be very many; I saw that in every thing I did, I sinned: & when I saw these my sins against God I was weary of my self, & angry with my self [p. 21.] in my heart; but the free mercy of God caused me to hear his word, and then I fear ed because every day sin was in my heart, and I thought in vain I

looked to Christ: Then hearing this word of Christ, that Christ taught through every town and village, *Repent and beleeve.* If any one repent, and mourn, and beleeve, I will pardon him; then my heart thought I will pray to God as long as I live: but somtimes my heart was ashamed, and somtimes my heart was strong, and God seeth my heart: I now desire to repent, and beleeve in Christ, and that Christ will pardon me, and shew mercy to us all.

Ponampam,

His Second Confession was as followeth:

WHen I prayed not unto God I ever sinned every day: but when *Noonanetam Indians* first prayed I heard of it, and three nights I considered whether I should pray or no, but I found not how to pray unto God, but how not to pray: but then I heard Gods free mercy in his word, call all to pray, *from the rising of the Sun to the going down thereof*; yet presently I lost that word, and sinned again and committed many sins. Then Gods free mercy shewed me in the Catechism, *That God made all the World*, yet my heart did not beleeve, because I knew I sprung from my Father and Mother: I did alwaies act many sins, because I was born in sin, and in vain I heard Gods word. Then I heard Gods Word, *That Christ was made man*, yet I did but hear it, though I thought it might be true: I thought I would cast off all sin but then I found that I loved them very much. I heard Gods promise to *Abraham, To increase his Children as the Stars for number*, but I beleeved not, because he had but one Son: and thus I cast off the word, and committed sins. I heard also from the word, That all men are not alike to God, some are first to God, [or preferred before other;] but I did [p. 22.] not beleeve it because all men die alike; therefore they are not the Sons of God, and God is not their Father: So still I beleeved not the Word, but broke Gods Word dayly, and in vain I heard Gods Word. Afterward I heard that Word of God to *Moses, I'le be with thy mouth, for who maketh the seeing Eye or hearing Ear, is it not I?* saith the Lord: then I understood a little of God, and of his Word; but still I acted much sin. Afterward I heard that Word of Free-Grace, *Repent, and beleeve the Gospel, and who ever beleeve shall be saved*; then my heart beleeved, then I saw I had prayed but afore man, & so was my hearing, or any other duty; and I saw other of my sins against God; and then I saw that my heart did not beleeve as it should, & I desired

to be open in my doings ; I saw I brake every command of God ; ye presently I lost this, and the Word of Christ was of little worth unto me ; and I saw I loved sin very much. Then again I heard that word, That all shall pray from the rising to the sitting Sun ; then I thought I will pray to God, and yet only my tongue prayed. Then again I heard the Catechism, That God made *Adam* and *Eve*, and al the world, and a little I beleeved that word. Afterward I heard another word, *That they are Bastards, not Sons, whom God afflicts not :* I did a little think this to be a truth, and then I prayed more unto God, and yet I saw I feared man more than God : but notwithstanding, I have prayed unto God from that day unto this day ; yet I see I sin every day. When I heard that word that God spake to *Moses* in the Mount by a Trumpet, and said : *Thou shalt not have any other God, thou shalt not lust, nor lye, nor kill, &c.* I saw all these I had broken ; I heard the Word, but sinned in what I heard : I heard that my heart must break and melt for sin, and beleeve in Christ, and that we should try our hearts if it be so ; yet I could try but little, nor find but little, but still I sinned much. I heard that Word, That they which cast off God, God will cast off them ; and I feared lest God should cast me away, because of my sins : I was ashamed of my sins, and my heart melted, and I thought I will give my self to God and to Christ, and do what he will for ever ; and because of this promise of pardon to al that repent and beleeve, my heart desireth to pray to God as long as I live.

[p. 23.] Ponampam ;

The Confession hé made on the Fast day, before the great Assembly was as followeth :

BEfore I prayed unto God, I committed all manner of sins ; and when I heard the Catechism, *That God made me*, I did not beleeve it, because I knew I sprang from my Father and Mother, and therefore I despised the Word, and therefore again I did act all sins, and I did love them. Then God was merciful to me, to let me hear that Word, That al shal pray from the rising to the sitting Sun ; and then I considered whether I should pray, but I found not in my heart that all should pray : but then I considered of praying, and what would become of me if I did not pray : and what would become of me, if I did pray ; but I thought if I did pray, the *Sachems* would be angry because They did not say, pray to God, and therefore I did not yet pray ; but considering of that word, that all shall pray, I was

troubled, and I found in my heart that I would pray unto God; and yet I feared that others would laugh at me, and therefore I did not yet pray. Afterward God was yet merciful to me, and I heard that God made the World, and the first man, and I thought it was true, and therefore I would pray to God, because he hath made all; and yet when I did pray, I thought I prayed not aright, because I prayed for the sake of man, and I thought this to be a great sin. But then I wondered at Gods free mercy to me, for I saw God made me, and giveth me all mercies: and then was I troubled, and saw that many were my sins, and that I do not yet beleeve; then I prayed, yet my heart sinned, for I prayed only with my mouth: and then I repented of my sins, and then a little I considered and remembred Gods love unto us, but I was a sinner, and many were my [p. 24.] sins, and a little I repented of them; and yet again I sinned, and quickly was my heart full of sin: then again was my heart angry with my self, and often I lost all this again, and fell into sin. Then I heard that word, *That God sent* Moses *to* Egypt, *and promised I will be with thee*; that promise I considered, but I thought that in vain I did seek, and I was ashamed that I did so: and I prayed, Oh God teach me truly to pray, not only before man, but before God, and pardon al these my sins. Again I heard that word, that Christ taught through every Town and Village, *Repent and beleeve, and be saved,* and a little I beleeved this word: and I loved it, and then I saw all my sins, and prayed for pardon. Again I heard that word, He that casteth off God, him will God cast off; and I found in my heart, that I had done this, and I feared because of this my sin, lest God should cast me off, and that I should for ever perish in Hell, because God hath cast me off, I having cast off God: then I was troubled about Hell, and what shall I do if I be damned! Then I heard that word, If ye repent aud beleeve, God pardons all sins; then I thought, Oh that I had this, I desired to repent and beleeve, and I begged of God, Oh give me Repentance and Faith, freely do it for me; and I saw God was merciful to do it, but I did not attend the Lord, only sometimes; and I now confess I am ashamed of my sins, my heart is broken, and melteth in me; I am angry at my self; I desire pardon in Christ; I betrust my soul with Christ, that he may do it for me.

By such time as this man had finished, the time was far spent, and he was the fift in number, their speeches being slow, and they were the more slow at my request, that I might write what they said; & oft I was forced to inquire of my interpreter (who sat by me) because I did not perfectly understand some sentences, especially of some of them: these things did make the work long-som considering the inlargement of spirit God gave some of them; and should we have proceeded further, it would have been sun-set before the Confessions in

likelyhood would have been finished, besides all the rest of the work that was to be done to finish so solemn a work; and the place [p. 25.] being remote in the woods, the nights long and cold and people not fitted to lie abroad, and no competent lodgings in the place for such persons, and the work of such moment as would not admit an hudling up in hast. And besides all this, though I had fully used all fit means, to have all the Interpreters present that I could, that so the interpretation might not depend upon my single testemony, yet so it was that they all failed, and I was alone (as I have been wont to be in this work) which providence of God was not to be neglected in so solemn a business. Wherfore the Magistrates, Elders, and Grave men present, advised together what to do, and the Conclusion was, Not to proceed any further at present, yet so to carry the matter, as that the Indians might in no wise be discouraged, but encouraged; to which end one of the Elders was requested to speak unto the English the two above said Reasons, *viz.* The want of Interp reters, And want of Time, to finish at this time so solemn a Work; but to refer it to a more fitting time. And I was desired to declare it to the Indians, which I did to this purpose, That the Magistrates, Elders, and other Christian People present, did much rejoyce to hear their Confessions, and advised them to go on in that good way; but as for the gathering a Church among them this day, it could not be; partly, Because neither Mr. *Mayhew*, nor Mr. *Leveridg*, nor any Interpreter was here (for whom they knew I had sent, some of themselves being the Messengers to carry Letters time enough) and it was Gods Ordinance, That when any were to judg a Case, though they could beleeve one Witness, yet they could not judg under two or three. Also I told them, That themselves might easily see there was not time enough to finish so solemn a work this day; therefore they advised, and God called to refer it to a fitter season; in which advice they rested: And so was the Work of that day, with prayers unto God, finished; the accomplishment being referred to a fitter season.

As for my self, the Lord put it into the hearts of the Elders, to speak unto me words of Comfort, and acceptance of my poor Labor expressing their loving fear, lest I should be discouraged by this disappointment: I shall therefore nakedly [p. 26.] declare, and open my very heart in this Matter. The Lord he knoweth, that with much fear and care I went about this work, even unto the sensible wasting, and weakning of my natural strength, knowing that the investing these young Babes in Christ, with the highest, and all the external priviledges of the Church, the Spouse of Jesus Christ on Earth, would have drawn upon me much more labor and care, lest they should in any wise scandalize the same; unto which I have now more time assigned me by the Lord to prepare them, yea, and a greater advantage than I had before, because this dispensation of the Lord, doth give me occasion to instruct them of their need to be filled with

deeper apprehensions of the weight and solemnity of that great Work, though it is most true, that they also came on unto it with many fears, and questions, what they should do when they should be a Church: When therefore I saw the Lord by the Counsel of his Servants (which is an holy reverend Ordinance of Christ) and by his Providence denying me the help of all Interpreters, having many witnesses how much care and pains I took every way I knew, to be supplied therein; and that the work it self was extended by the Lords gracious inlarging them in their Confessions, so that the day was not sufficient to accomplish it; I say, when I saw the Lord speaking that delatory word, I cannot express what a load it took off my heart, and I did gladly follow the Lord therein, yea, and I bless the Lord for that day, that it was carried so far as it was, for the cause of Christ hath many waies gained by it, many hundreds of the precious Saints, being much comforted and confirmed in their hopes of this work of Christ among them, and their faith and prayers much quickned by what they heard and saw. And because all witnesses failed me, let me say but this, I began, and have followed this work for the Lord according to the poor measure of grace received, & not for base ends. I have been true & faithful unto their souls, and in writing and reading their Confessions, I have not knowingly, or willingly made them better, than the Lord helped themselves to make them, but am verily perswaded on good grounds, that I have rather rendered them weaker (for the [p. 27.] most part) than they delivered them; partly by missing some words of weight in some Sentences, partly by my short and curt touches of what they more fully spake, and partly by reason of the different Idioms of their Language and ours.

Now follow those Preparatory Confessions, which were read before the Elders, most of them.

The first that made a publick Confession, and was took in Writing, was Peter, *a Ruler of Ten among them, a Godly man, who quickly after he had made this Confession, fell sick, and died, and now injoyeth the fruit of his Faith, the end of his Hope, the salvation of his Soul, among the Blessed; where I am perswaded he shall be found in the great day. His Confession was as followeth.*

WHen I first prayed to God, I did not fear God, but I feared perdition, because the English had told me, that all should be

damned, that call not upon God. But now I know that God made all the world, and I fear him; now I beleeve that which you teach is true; Now I beleeve that God calleth us to *Natik*, that here we may be ruled by God, and gather a Church; now I beleeve that it is Gods Command, that we should labor Six dayes, and keep the Sabbath on the Seventh day: now my heart is greatly abased, for all my sins; for we see though we pray to God we are ready to offend each other, and be angry with each other, and that we love not each other as we should do; and for this I grieve & my heart crieth: now I remember that God saith thou [p.28.] shalt not lust, but before I prayed to God I was full of lusts. God saith, We must have but one Wife, and at first did make but one man and one woman; but I followed many women. God saith, Remember to keep the Sabbath day holy; but I did hunt, or shoot, or any thing on the Sabbath day: many other sins I committed; but now I see them, and wil cast them away because they are vile, and God forbiddeth them: when I prayed first my sins were not pardoned, for my praying is worth nothing: now I am humbled, and mourn for my sins and yet cannot deliver my self nor get pardon, therfore I trust Christ with my soul.

The next Confession was made by John Speene, *as followeth. His first confession was this,*

WHen I first prayed to God, I did not pray for my soul, but only I did as my friends did, because I loved them; and though I prayed to God, yet I did not fear sin, nor was I troubled at it. I heard that when good men die, their souls go to God, and are there happy, but I cannot say that I beleeved it. Afterward my eart run away into the country, after our old wayes, and I did almost cast off praying to God. A little while after that, I saw that I had greatly sinned, and then I saw all my sins, afore I prayed to God, and since I prayed to God, and I saw that God was greatly angry for them, and that I cannot get pardon for them; but yet my heart saith I will pray to God as long as I live: I thought God would not pardon me and yet I would cast away my sins. I did greatly love hunting, and hated labor: but now I beleeve that word of God, which saith, Six dayes thou shalt labor: and God doth make my body strong to labor.

[p. 29.] John Speene,

This Confession being short in some main points, he afterward made Confession as followeth.

WHen I first prayed I prayed not for my soul, but for the sake of men, I loved men, and for their sakes I prayed to God. Before I prayed many were my sins, and my heart was heaped full, and ran over in all manner of lusts and sins. After I heard of praying to God, I let it fall and regarded it not; after I came to hear the word, I sometimes feared, but soon lost it again. Then my heart ran away after our former courses, and then what ever I heard I lost because my heart was run away; and many were my sins, and therfore I could not get pardon, because my heart run away, and many were my sins, and I did indeed go into the Country. But afterwards I hearing the Catechism, I desired to learn it, and then I beleeved that when Beleevers die, their souls go to God, and are ever happy; when Sinners die, their souls go to Hel, and are ever tormented; and that when Christ judges the world, our bodies rise again, and then we shall receive the judgment of Christ; the good shal stand at his right hand, the bad at his left; this I beleeved was true, and then I saw all my great follies and evils: and now my heart desired to lay by hunting, and to work every day; and this is Gods Command, and therfore a good way; God said, Thou shalt work six daies, and if thou work thou shalt eat; therfore I beleeve it, and my heart promiseth that I will this do as long as I live. Now I see I did great folly, for now I hear that God saith *Work*; and now I fear because God hath afflicted me, in taking away my brother a Ruler: now I am troubled, I fear I sinned in not beleeving our Ruler, because now God hath taken him away; he taught me good words, but I beleeved them not, and now I repent because Christ calleth me to it: great is the punishment of God in taking away our Ruler; and now I pray, and say to Christ, Oh Jesus Christ [p. 30.] I have sinned: I beleeve that if I repent and be humbled, and pray not only outwardly but Inwardly, and beleeve in Christ, then God will pardon all my sin; but I cannot get pardon of sin, I cannot deserve pardon, but only Christ hath merited pardon for us: I cannot deliver my self from all my sins, but Christ redeemeth, and delivereth from all sin: I deserve not one mercy of God, but Christ hath merited all mercies for us.

The next are the Confessions of Robin Speene, *who three several times came forth, and confessed as followeth. His first Confession:*

I Was ashamed because you taught to pray to God, and I did not take it up; I see God is angry with me for all my sins, and he hath afflicted me by the death of three of my children, and I fear God is still angry, because great are my sins, and I fear lest my children be not gone to Heaven, because I am a great sinner, yet one of my children prayed to God before it died, and therefore my heart rejoyceth in that. I remember my Panwaning [for he was a *Panwan*] my lust, my gaming, and all my sins; I know them by the Commandements of God, and God heareth and seeth them all; I cannot deliver my self from sin, therefore I do need Christ, because of all my sins, I desire pardon, and I beleeve that God calls all to come to Christ, and that he delivereth us from sin.

[p. 31.] Robin Speene,

His Second Confession.

I Have found out one word more: great are my sins, and I do not know how to repent, nor do I know the evil of my sins; only this one word, now I confess I want Christ, this day I want him; I do not truly beleeve nor repent: I see my sin, and I need Christ, but I desire now to be redeemed: and I now ask you this Question, *What is Redemption?* "I answered him, by shewing him our estate by "Nature, and desert, the price which Christ paid for us, and how it "is to be applied to every particular person; which done, he proceeded in his confession thus: I yet cannot tell whether God hath pardoned my sins, I forget the word of God; but this I desire, that my sins may be pardoned, but my heart is foolish, and a great part of the Word stayeth not in my heart strongly. I desire to cast all my sins out of my heart: but I remember my sins, that I may get them pardoned, I think God doth not yet hear my prayers in this, because I cannot keep the Word of God, only I desire to hear the Word, and that God would hear me.

Robin Speen,

His Third Confession.

ONe word more I cal to mind, Great is my sin! this saith my heart, I have found this sin, when I first heard you teach, that all the world from the rising to the sitting Sun should pray to God, I then wondered at it, and thought, I [p. 32.] being a great sinner, how shal I pray to God; and when I saw many come to the Meeting, I wondred at it: But now I do not wonder at that work of God, and therefore I think that I do now greatly sin: and now I desire again to wonder at Gods Works, and I desire to rejoyce in Gods good waies. Now I am much ashamed, and fear because I have deserved eternal wrath by my sins: my heart is evil, my heart doth contrary to God: and this I desire, that I may be redeemed, for I cannot help my self, but only Jesus Christ hath done al this for me, and I deserve no good, but I beleeve Christ hath deserved all for us; and I give my self unto Christ, that he may save me, because he knoweth eternal life, and can give it; I cannot give it to my self, therefore I need Jesus Christ, my heart is full of evil thoughts; and Christ only can keep my soul from them, because he hath paid for my deliverance from them.

The next are the Confessions of Nishohkou; *who twice made preparitory Confessions; the first of which only, was read before the Elders.*

GOD in Heaven is merciful, and I am sinful: when I first heard the Word of God, I neither saw nor understood; but after, when you taught these words, *Be wise, Oh ye all ye people, and beleeve in Jesus Christ*, then I prayed unto God; yet afterwards I sinned, and almost forsook praying to God. Afterward I understood, That God who made all the World was merciful to sinners: and truly I saw my heart very sinful, because I promised God to pray as long as I live, but my heart hath not so done. Again I promised God I will follow Christ in al things, and now I find my heart backward, and not so forward to make a Church. God promiseth, If foolish ones pray to God for Wisdom he will give it: this Promise I beleeve, but I find my heart full of temptations; but now I promise [p.33.] God as in the *Psalm*,* All my works shall be done in wisdom for I confess al my works and words, have been

* *Psalm*, 101. 2.

foolish. God is wise and good, but I am foolish. God who hath made the World, sent his own Son Jesus: and Jesus Christ hath died for us, and deserved for us, pardon and life, this is true; and he hath done for me all Gods Commandements, for I can do nothing, because I am very sinful. God in Heaven is very merciful, and therfore hath called me to pray unto God. God hath promised to pardon al their sins, who pray unto God, and beleeve in the Promise of Christ, and Christ can give me to beleeve in him.

When he had made this Confession, he was much abashed, for he is a bashful man; many things he spoke that I missed, for want of through understanding some words and sentences: therfore before the Fast day he made another Confession, which was not read before the Elders; which was as followeth.

Nishohkou.

I am dead in sin, Oh! that my sins might die, for they cannot give life, because they be dead: before I prayed to God, I did commit all filthynesse, I prayed to many gods, I was proud, full of lusts, adulteries, and all other sins, and therefore this is my first Confession, that God is mercifull, and I am a sinner, for God have given unto me instruction, and causeth me to pray unto God, but I only pray words; when I prayed I somtimes wondered, and thought true it is that God made the world, and me: and then I thought I knew God, because I saw these his works, and then I was glad somtimes and gave thanks; yet presently again I did not rejoyce in it. Again somtimes I thought now I do wel because I pray, and work not on the Sabbath daies, but come to the Meetings, and hear the Word of God: But afterward again, I thought I do not wel, because true it is, That yet I do [p. 34.] not truly pray; for now I see I sin when I pray: because there is nothing but sin in my mouth, or hand, or heart, and all sins are there, for of these my sins my heart is full, because my heart doth sometimes lust, and steal, and the like. Again, I was not only proud before I prayed, but now I am proud. Again, sometimes my heart is humbled, and then I pray, Oh God have mercy on me, and pardon these my sins; yet sometimes I know not whether God did either hear my prayer, or pardon my sins. Again, afterwards I thought I had greatly sinned, because I heard of the good way of praying unto God, but I do wickedly because I pray not truly, yea, sometimes I have much ado to pray with my mouth, aud therfore I sin. I heard of that good way, to keep the Sabbath, and not to work on that day, and I did so: but yet again I sinned in it, because I did not reve-

rence the Word of God; yea, and sometimes I thought that working on the Sabbath was no great matter. Again, I heard it was a good way to come to theMeetings, and hear the Word of God, and I desired to do it; but in this also I sinned, because I did not truly hear: yea, sometimes I thought it no great matter if I heard not, and cared not to come to hear, and still I so sinned. Then I thought God was angry, because I have greatly sinned; desiring to do well and yet again to sin. When I desired to do well, then I sinned, and in all things I sinned. But afterward I was angry with my self, and thought I will not sin again; and what God saith, is good, but I am sinful because I have done all these evils. Again, sometimes my heart is humbled, and then I repent, and say, Oh God and Jesus Christ, have mercy on me, and pardon my sins. Now I desire truly to pray; now I desire to reverence the Word every Sabbath day: now I desire to hear the Word of God truly; now I desire to bend my heart to pray, and it may be God will hear me: but quickly after a temptation cometh to my heart, and I did not desire it. Again sometimes I did think, true it is I can do nothing of my self, but Jesus Christ must have mercy on me, because Christ hath done for me all Gods Commandements and good Works, therfore my heart saith, Oh Jesus give me desires after thee: sometimes I think it is [p. 35.] true, I have greatly sinned against God, but great are his mercies: sometimes I hear the Word on the Sabbath day, and he giveth it me, [that is, maketh it my own] sometimes I say the great and mighty God is in Heaven, but these are but words, because I do not fear this great and mighty God; and I sometimes regard not Gods Word, and make it of none effect, because I do not that which is good, but commit sin: sometimes I say I know Christ, because I know he died for us, and hath redeemed us, and procured pardon for us: yet again I say I sin, because I beleeve not Christ, for that only is right to beleeve in Christ, and do what he saith; but I think I do this in vain, because I yet do not truly beleeve in Jesus Christ, nor do what he commandeth, and therfore my heart plays the hypocrite; and now I know what is hypocrisie, namely, when I know what I should do, and yet do it not. Sometimes I think I am like unto Satan, because I do al these sins, and sin in all things I do; if I pray I sin, if I keep Sabbath I sin, if I hear Gods Word I sin, therefore I am like the Devil. Now I know I deserve to go to Hell, because all these sins I have committed: then my heart is troubled, and I say, Oh God and Christ pardon all my sin, for I cannot pardon my sins my self; for the first man brought sin into the world, and therfore I am sinful, therfore I pray thee O Lord pardon all the sins which I have done. Again, sometimes my heart is humbled, and I desire to fear God, because he is a great God, and I desire to do what he saith, and now I desire to do the right way, and now I desire to beleeve Jesus Christ; and sometimes I think it may be God will hear me, it may be he will par-

don me, yet again I think I cannot be ashamed of sin; but now I am ashamed of all my sins, and my heart is broken, and all these my sins I cast off, and take heed of: yet then again I sometimes say to God, I cannot my self be humbled, or break my heart, or cast off sin, but I pray thee O Jesus help me to do it. Again sometimes I confess this is true, I cannot redeem my self, nor deliver my self, because of all these my many sins; truly, full is my heart of sin in every thing, all my thoughts, my words, my looks, my works are full of sin; true this is, therefore I cannot deliver [p. 36.] my self from sin; Oh redeem thou my soul from Hel and torment, for I like not to do it with my own hand, therfore I desire Jesus Christ, that I may delight in him; take thou me and my soul, because thou hast done Gods word, and all good works for me, and hast procured pardon for all my sins, and hast prepared pardon in Heaven, therfore I desire, Oh I desire pardon: but I somtimes think Christ doth not delight in me because I do much play the hypocrite, but if I truly beleeve then he will pardon, but true faith I cannot work; Oh Jesus Christ help me, and give it me.

Another who made Confession, is named Magus; *which is as followeth:*

HEretofore I beleeved not, that God made the world, but I thought the world was of it self, and all people grew up in the world of themselves. When any bid me pray to God, I said I cannot, and none of our Rulers beleeve or pray to God; yet I went about to seek how to pray to God, I told the wise men I seek how to pray to God, and all of them could not find how to pray to God. Afterward I had a desire to pray God, lest I should lose my soul, but my heart run away, and I could not find how to pray to God, and therefore I thought of going away; yet I also thought if I do go away, I shall lose my ground. But after this I heard of Gods anger against me, and I beleeved it; for God made the first man good, and told him if he did well he should live, and this day I beleeve all men should do so; and then I thought I will pray as long as I live, and I will labor, because Gods promise is, If we labor we shall eat; and I see that that is a true word; for they that do labor do eat [that is, have wherewith to be fed] I see that sin alwaies hath continued, from the beginning of the world. I beleeve that word which God told *Eve*, That in sorrow she should bring forth [p. 37.] Children, and I see it dayly to be true. I beleeve that word of God, that sin brings misery, and all shall die, because by sin, we break all the Commands

of God: I have been full of lusts, and thefts, &c. all my life, and all the time I have lived. I have done contrary to the Command of God. And I am now grieved, now I hear of all my sins: I beleeve Christ doth convert me to God, and he calleth Children, and old men, and all men to turn unto God, and from their sins; he calleth to sorrow and repentance, and ever to beleeve in Christ; and who ever doth this, shall be ever blessed in Heaven; but if he do it not, he perisheth: if he turn not from sin, dying, he shall go to Hell for ever. I think also, that so long as I live, God doth give me life. I beleeve that we ought to gather into a Church, to serve God as long as we live. But I do not know whether yet God hath pardoned my sins, or not; but I know Christ, and I know he hath already dyed for me, because I cannot redeem my self.

Another who made Confession, was named Poquanum; *which was as followeth. His first Confession.*

A Great while ago the English would tell me of God but I hated it, and would go out of doors, when they so spake unto me, and I murmured at it. When the Indians first prayed to God, I did not think there was a God, or that the Bible was Gods Book, but that wise men made it: When some prayed to God, I went with them, but I did not know God. Afterward my mind was changed thus far, That I desired to be wise, as others were, but yet I knew nothing of God; yea, after I prayed to God, I still did think there was no God. Afterward I found this in my heart, That we pray to God for our souls; then I thought all my [p. 38.] praying was nothing, because I was so foolish that I never thought of dying: but after, I learned, That all must die, and good mens souls go to Heaven; and then I thought of dying, and of my soul: but then I thought we prayed for nothing but that our souls might go to Heaven; I knew nothing of Christ. But after, when the Children were Catechised, and taught the ten Commandements, I hearkned, and by them I came to know that there was a God, and that there was sin against God; and hereby God made me to see all my sins, both before I prayed to God, and since; and I saw Gods anger against me for my sins, before, and since I prayed, because sometimes I came not to the Meeting; brake my word, regarded not my Children, and I see sin in me, and therfore I do greatly fear Gods anger.

Poquanum;

His Second Confession was as followeth:

BEfore I prayed unto God, I greatly sinned, I prayed to many gods, and used Panwaning, Adultery, Lust, Lying, and al other sins, and many were my sins, evil thoughts, evil words, and nothing else but evil, hatred, and pride, and all sins against God, coveting other mens goods; when I stole, I added lying to it when I had done; I was very proud, I much hated many men, and loved them not because I was angry with them; and thus I did every day: I would slander my neighbors, great was my pride, I was daily angry with my neighbors, my heart was alwaies full of such waies. When the English said, Pray to God, I cared not for God, because I loved sin, nor did I desire that God should forgive my sin. Afterward I heard the word, That if we truly pray, mourn for sin, cast off sin, desire to hear the word, and beleeve in Christ, God will then pardon, and when he dieth Christ will lead him to Heaven: I much rejoyced to hear of this [p. 39.] pardon, but I must truly beleeve in Christ, else I shal not have pardon: and first I thought God will not pardon me, because I still sinned. But afterward I heard, That though we should pray as long as we live, and never sin more, yet that was of no value; but we must beleeve in Christ, else there is no pardon; and this I rejoyced at.

Another who made Confession, is named Nookau, *which is as followeth. His first Confession.*

FIve years ago, before I prayed I was sick, I thought I should die; at which I was much troubled, and knew not what to do; then I thought, if there be a God above, and he give life again, then I shall beleeve there is a God above, and God did give me life: and after that I took up praying to God. Now I beleeve God, one God that made all the world, and governeth it, yet this I only said with my mouth, I did not truly beleeve it in my heart. Then I understood, That God made the first man good, and like God, but he sinned, and we have lost Gods Image, and are like the Devil, and deserve Hell and Damnation: this I now know, and see that I am foolish, and sometime think not of God in an whol day, sometime I do think of God every day; sometime my heart greatly sinneth, then sometime I presently fear, but again sometimes I am slow to fear;

I am very foolish because I do not understand the Word, but break the Word of God. I beleeve the Catechism we learn to be according to the Word of God; but the writings of the Bible are the very Words of God, and the Spirit of God is the Word, and that God giveth all things that are good: I now see my sins before I prayed unto God, and since, and I beleeve that God seeth them all: and my heart feareth, because I do not yet forsake my sins, and I think God will not forgive me, because my [p. 40.] heart is wicked; I know not when Christ forgiveth my sins, others may know, but I desire that my sins may be pardoned for Christ his sake.

Nookau,

His Second Confession.

BEfore I prayed to God, I greatly sinned every day, I was proud, and lived in adultery, lying, &c. and my heart alwaies full of evil thoughts, and when the English would instruct me, I then thought my waies evil, but the business of praying to God, good; then I did think, if I could first understand, then I would pray to God, and I was glad to hear of any that did pray to God. When I heard that word at *Cohannet, Who ever lacketh wisdom, let him ask it of God*; let fools pray to God, and he will give them wisdom: I thought I was a fool, and I beleeved that Word of God. I heard that word of the dry bones, God bid them hear, and promised to put flesh, and sinews, and skin upon them, and make them live; therefore I desired to hear, because I beleeved the dry bones, and that I was one that did not know God: afterward I was glad of praying to God. Sometimes I beleeved not God and God will not look on such, alwaies I thought God will not forgive me. I wondred at all that prayed to God, because I thought God had given them wisdom: then I thought I am glad I pray to God. Sometime my heart is broken because I shall lose all in this world, and lose my soul also, because I beleeve not, for all the Words of God are true which he hath taught me. Now this day I think I will confess the truth; Because I have sinned, I want Jesus Christ: and I will truly confess God, because of that word of Christ, *He that confesses me before men, him will I confess before my Father:* I wonder at this Instructoin, I desire to confess my heart.

[p.41.] *Another who made his Confession is named* Antony, *upon whom the Lord was pleased the last Winter to lay*

an heavy stroke; for he and another Indian being at work sawing of Board, and finishing the Peece, they laid it so short, and the Rowl not so stedfast, insomuch that this man being in the Pit directing to lay the Piece, and the other above ordering thereof, it slipped down into the Pit upon this mans head, brake his neather Chap in two, and cracked his Skull, insomuch that he was taken up half dead, and almost strangled with blood; and being the last day of the week at night I had no word until the Sabbath day, then I presently sent a Chyrurgion, who took a discreet order with him; and God so blessed his indeavors, as that he is now well again, blessed be the Lord: and whereas I did fear that such a blow in their Labor might discourage them from Labor, I have found it by Gods blessing otherwise; yea this man hath performed a great part of the sawing of our Meeting-House, and is now sawing upon the School-house, and his recovery is an establishment [p. 42.] *of them to go on; yea, and God blessed this blow, to help on the Work of Grace in his soul; as you shall see in his Confession, which followeth.*

BEfore I prayed to God I alwaies committed sin, but I do not know all my sins, I know but a little of the sins I have committed, therefore I thought I could not pray to God, because I knew not al my sins before I prayed to God, and since I heard of praying to God: formerly when the English did bid me pray unto God I hated it, and would go out of their houses, when they spake of such things to me. I had no delight to hear any thing of Gods Word, but in every thing I sinned; in my speeches I sinned, and every day I broke the Commands of God. After I heard of praying to God, that *Waban* and my two brothers prayed to God, yet then I desired it not, but did think of running away; yet I feared if I did run away some wicked men would kill me, but I did not fear God. After when you said unto me, pray, my heart thought, I will pray; yet again I thought, I cannot pray with my heart, and no matter for praying with words only: but when I did pray, I saw more of my sins; yet I did but only see them, I could not be aware of them, but still I did commit them: and after I prayed to God, I was still full of lust, and then a little I feared. Sometimes I was sick, and then I thought God was angry, and then I saw that I did commit all sins: then one of my brothers died, and then my heart was broken, and after him another

friend, and again my heart was broken: and yet after all this I broke my praying to God, and put away God, and then I thought I shall never pray to God: but after this I was afraid of the Lord, because I alwaies broke my praying to God and then my heart said, God doth not hear my prayer. When I was sick, and recovered again, I thought then that God was merciful unto me. Hearing that word of God, *If you hear the Word of God, and be forgetful hearers, you sin against God*; then I thought God will not pardon such a sinner as I, who dayly did so, and broke my praying to God. When I heard the [p.43.] Commandements, I desired to learn them, and other points of Catechism, but my desires were but small, and I soon lost it, because I did not desire to beleeve: then sometimes I feared Gods anger because of al my sins; I heard the Word and understood only this word, *All you that hear this day, it may be you shall quickly die*, and then I quickly saw that God was very angry with me. Then God brake my head, and by that I saw Gods anger; and then I thought that the true God in Heaven is angry with me for my sin, even for al my sins, which every day I live, I do. When I was almost dead, some body bid me now beleeve, because it may be I shal quickly die, and I thought I did beleeve, but I did not know right beleeving in Christ: then I prayed unto God to restore my health. Then I beleeved that word, *That we must shortly appear before Jesus Christ*; then I did greatly fear lest if I beleeved not, I should perish for ever. When I was neer death, I prayed unto God, *Oh Lord give me life, and I will pray to God so long as I live*, and I said, *I will give my self, soul, and body to Christ:* after this, God gave me health, and then I thought, truly, God in Heaven is merciful; then I much grieved, that I knew so little of Gods Word. And now sometimes I am angry, and then I fear because I know God seeth it; and I fear, because I promised God when I was almost dead, that if he giveth me life, I will pray so long as I live; I fear lest I should break this promise to God. Now I desire the pardon of all my sins, and I beg faith in Christ, and I desire to live unto God, so long as I live; I cannot my self get pardon, but I dayly commit sin, and break Gods Word, but I look to Christ for pardon.

Another who made His Confession is named Owussumag; *which is as followeth:*

WHen I first heard that *Waban* prayed to God, and after that many more prayed. I first feared praying [p. 44.] to God, and instruction, and I hated instruction by the Word of God, and alwaies I laughed at them who prayed to God; and I alwaies thought

I will yet more commit sin: and I went into the Country, and there I acted much lust, adultry, and the like, and all my Neighbors, we did together seek after wickedness, and every day I was proud, and of high or open eyes. When some of my neighbors began to pray, I went away into the Country, but I could find no place where I was beloved. Then I heard, That when beleevers die, they go to Heaven, when sinners die they go to Hel; and my heart considered, What good will it be if my soul go to Heaven? But two years ago, I began to think, I had sinned against God; and then somtimes I feared, yet again sinned, but my fear was of man, not of God: Then ever my heart said I should be better, if I would pray to God, and somtimes I beleeved that which I was taught, yet again, last year, I sought to go away afar off, but I could think of no place, but I should be in danger to be killed. Then again I much remembred my sins: and again I thought, What will become of me, if I die in my sins? and then I thought it was good for me to pray unto God so long as I live; and then my heart turned to praying unto God, and I did pray, and my heart feared when I heard the word read and taught, and I was glad to hear the Word of God; and then I purposed to pray as long as I live. Sometime I did dayly see my sins, and fear, for I cannot get pardon, only in Jesus Christ. Then I heard that word, *I thank thee oh Heavenly father, that thou hast revealed these things to babes;* and that word, *that we must forgive each other:* then I saw that I beleeved not one word from Christ, not any word of G od; and dayly my heart wept, that Christ might pardon all my sins against God and Christ: and now unto this day my heart saith I desire the good waies of praying to God, but I cannot know them of my self, but Jesus Christ must teach me them. When I heard, That only Christ must pardon our sins, and that for Christ God will pardon our sins, this day I rejoyce to hear that word of God and all that Christ hath taught me: and now I purpose, That while I live, I will pray unto God, and [p. 45.] Jesus Christ only: and this day I see I cannot know how to find good thoughts; but this day I desire pardon for all my sins, and to cast them away.

Another who made Confession, is named Ephraim, *his Indian Name I have forgotten. It is as followeth:*

ALL the daies I have lived, I have been in a poor foolish condition, I cannot tell all my sins, all my great sins, I do not see them. When I first heard of praying to God, I could not sleep quietly, I was so troubled, ever I thought I would forsake the place because of praying to God, my life hath been like as if I had been a

mad man. Last yeer I thought I would leave all my sins, yet I see I do not leave off sinning to this day; I now think I shall never be able to forsake my sins. I think sometimes the Word of God is false, yet I see there is no giving over that I might follow sin, I must pray to God; I do not truly in my heart repent, and I think that God wil not forgive me my sins: every day my heart sinneth, and how will Christ forgive such an one? I pray but outwardly with my mouth, not with my heart; I cannot of my self obtain pardon of my sins: I cannot tell all the sins that I have done if I should tell you an whol day together: I do every morning desire that my sins may be pardoned by Jesus Christ; this my heart saith, but yet I fear I cannot forsake my sins, because I cannot see all my sins: I hear, That if we repent and beleeve in Christ, all our sins shall be pardoned, therefore I desire to leave off my sins.

This poor Publican was the last which made his Confession before I read them unto the Elders, and the last of them I shall now publish. I will shut up these Confessions with the Confession (if I may so call it) or rather with the Expression, and manifestation of faith, by two little [p. 46.] Infants, of two yeers old, and upward, under three yeers of age when they died and departed out of this world.

The Story is this,

THis Spring, in the beginning of the yeer, 1652. the Lord was pleased to afflict sundry of our praying Indians with that grievous disease of the Bloody-Flux, whereof some with great torments in their bowels died; among which were two little Children of the age above-said, and at that time both in one house, being together taken with that disease. The first of these Children in the extremities of its torments, lay crying to God in these words, *God and Jesus Christ, God and Jesus Christ help me*; and when they gave it any thing to eat, it would greedily take it (as it is usual at the approach of death) but first it would cry to God, *Oh God and Jesus Christ, bless it*, and then it would take it: and in this manner it lay calling upon God and Jesus Christ untill it died: The mother of this Child also died of that disease, at that time. The Father of the Child told me this story, with great wonderment at the grace of God, in teaching his Child so to call upon God. The name of the Father is *Nishohkou*, whose Confession you have before.

Three or four daies after, another Child in the same house, sick of the same disease, was (by a divine hand doubtless) sensible of the approach of death, (an unusual thing at that age) and called to its Father, and said, *Father, I am going to God*, several times repeating it, *I am going to God*. The mother (as other mothers use to do) had made for the Child a little Basket, a little Spoon, and a little Tray: these things the Child was wont to be greatly delighted

withal (as all Children will) therefore in the extremity of the torments, they set those things before it, a little to divert the mind, and cheer the spirit: but now, the child takes the Basket, and puts it away, and said, *I will leave my Basket behind me, for I am going to God, I will leave my Spoon and Tray behind me* (putting them away) *for I am going to God:* and with these kind of expressions, the same night finished its course, and died.

The Father of this child is named *Robin Speen*, whose Confessions [p. 47.] you have before, and in one of them he maketh mention of this child that died in Faith. When he related this story to me, he said, He could not tell whether the sorrow for the death of his child, or the joy for its faith were greater, when it died.

These Examples are a testimony, That they teach their children the knowledg and fear of God, whom they now call upon; and also that the Spirit of God co-worketh with their instructions, who teacheth by man, more than man is able to do.

I have now finished all that I purpose to publish at this time; the Lord give them Acceptance in the hearts of his Saints, to engage them the more to pray for them; and Oh! that their judgings of themselves, and breathings after Christ, might move others (that have more means than they have, but as yet regard it not) to do the like, and much more abundantly.

FINIS.

A Late and Further

MANIFESTATION

OF THE

Progress of the Gospel

AMONGST THE

INDIANS

IN

Nevv-England.

Declaring their constant Love and Zeal to the Truth: With a readinesse to give Accompt of their Faith and Hope; as of their desires in Church Communion to be Partakers of the Ordinances of Christ.

Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians, *about their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches.* Related by Mr. John Eliot.

Published by the Corporation, established by *Act of Parliament*, for Propagating the Gospel there.

Acts 13. 47. *I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for Salvation unto the Ends of the Earth.*

LONDON: Printed by *M. S.* 1655.

WEE *having perused the ensuing* Narration, *written by Master* Eliot, *doe conceive it fit to be Printed, That thereby the Servants of God in* England *may be further enlarged in their Praises to God for his free Grace wonderfully manifested in beginning and so successfully carrying on the hoped for Conversion of the* Indians. *And also that they may be much encouraged to continue their Prayers, and liberall Contributions for the finishing and perfecting of this blessed and glorious undertaking, so much conducing to the Glory of God, the Salvation of soules, and the Inlargement of the Kingdome of Christ upon Earth.*

May 13. 1655.

H: Whitfeild. } { Edm: Calamy.
Simeon Ashe. } { John Arthur.

To all that pray and wait for the Prosperity of *SION*, and the increase of the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ to the ends of the Earth.

Grace and Peace be multiplied.

Beloved Brethren,

AS, The *One thing* which ye have desired of the Lord, and which yee have sought after, is, that your selves might dwell in the house of the Lord all the dayes of your lives, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his Temple: So, I am much assured that the next thing which yee have desired of the Lord, and which ye have earnestly sought after, is, that they who have hitherto been strangers to, might dwell also in the house of the Lord all the dayes of their lives, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in his Temple; yea, that they might be a house and a Temple of the Lord. This being the gratious designe of your holy breathings unto God, and of your liberall contributings unto men, ye cannot but rejoyce to hear of any thing which looketh like, much more which really is a fruit and return of such breathings and contributings. Holy prayers and zealous endeavours are very sweet in their acts, but they are much more sweet in their effects and issues. It should mightily encourage the seed of *Jacob* to pray, because God hath said, that he hath not said to the seed of *Jacob*, *seeke yee me in vaine*. But how should it provoke the seed of *Jacob* to give thanks, when

they find that they have not sought the Lord in vaine? and that their labours have not been in vaine in the Lord?

Beloved Brethren, yee may now see and tast the fruit of those Prophecies, which ye have been helping to the birth. *The Wildernesse and solitary places are glad, the desert rejoyceth and blossometh, as the Rose it blossometh abundantly, and rejoyceth even with joy and singing. The glory of Lebanon is given to it, the excellency of Carmell and Sharon, these see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God.*

This little Book of Observations and Experiences gives you a brief and faithfull Narrative of the increasing glory of Christ by the Progresse of the Gospel in *New-England:* It tells you how Christ hath there led captivity captive, and given gifts for men, yea, for the rebellious, that the Lord God might dwell among them. Where the strong man Armed kept the house (for many Ages and Generations, and all was in peace:) there now (Christ) *A stronger then he*, hath come upon him, and hath (in many examples) overcome him and taken from him all his Armour wherein he trusted, and divided his spoyles: Now Christ keeps the house, which Satan formerly kept; yea, they who were kept by Satan as his house, are now ready and earnestly desire to be built up as a house for Christ. The poor, naked, ignorant *Indians* who lately knew no civill Order, now beg to be brought into Church Order, to live under the Government, and enjoy the holy Ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the purest way of Gospel-worship.

May we not now *(Beloved)* make mention of *Rahab and Babylon* to them that know Christ? *Behold Philistia and Tyre, with Ethiopia, this man was borne there; and of Sion* (in *New-England) it may be said, this and that man* (of the wild, rude, and barbarous *Indians) was borne there.* Read this short discourse, and it will tell you that the Lord hath blessed the labours of the Messengers of *Sion* in *New-England*, with the Conversion of some (I may say, of a considerable number) of the *Indians*, to be a kind of first fruits of his (new) Creatures there. O let

old *England* rejoyce in this, that our brethren who with extream difficulties and expences have Planted themselves in the *Indian Wildernesses*, have also laboured night and day with prayers and tears and Exhortations to Plant the *Indians as a spirituall Garden*, into which Christ might come and eat his pleasant fruits. Let the gaining of any of their souls to Christ, and their turning to God from Idols to serve the living and true God, be more pretious in our eyes then the greatest gaine or return of Gold and Silver. This gaine of soules is a *Merchandize* worth the glorying in upon all the *Exchanges*, or rather in all the *Churches* throughout the world. *This Merchandize is Holinesse to the Lord:* And of this the ensuing Discourse presents you with a Bill of many particulars, from your spirituall *Factory in New England*, as the improvement of your former adventures thether, for the promoting of that heavenly Trade; as also for an encouragement not only to all those who have freely done it already, to adventure yet more, but also for the quickning of those who hitherto have not done it, now to underwrite themselves Adventurers for the advancement of so holy and hopefull a designe. I shall adde only this one word, That, *Whosoever shall thus Adventer for Christ, shall have Christ for his Insurer.* To his Grace and Blessing I recommend both you and this Blessed Work, who am

Dearly Beloved,

A hearty well-wisher to the Propagation of the Gospel; and your Servant for Christs sake.

JOSEPH CARYL.

A BRIEF
NARRATION
OF THE
INDIANS
PROCEEDINGS

In respect of

Church-Estate,

AND

How the Case standeth at the present with us.

AFTER I had spent my poor labours among the *Indians* for the space of neer four years, it pleased God to stir up in them a great desire of partaking in the Ordinance of Baptism, and other Ecclesiasticall Ordinances in way of Church Communion. But I declared unto them how necessary it was, that they should first be Civilized, by being brought from their scattered and wild course of life, unto civill Co-habitation and Government, [p. 2.] before they could, according to the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, be fit to be betrusted with the sacred Ordinances of Jesus Christ, in Church-

Communion. And therefore I propounded unto them, that they should look out some fit place to begin a Towne, unto which they might resort, and there dwell together, enjoy Government, and be made ready and prepared to be a People among whom the Lord might delight to dwell and Rule.

When they understood the mind of God in this matter, they were desirous to set upon the work: The reallity of which desires, the living have actually expressed, by their performance thereof (in some poor measure) and some of them dying, left their earnest affections and desires with the rest, to set upon that work; especially *Wampooas*, a godly man, of whose death and exhortations that way, I have made some mention in some former Letters.

We accordingly attended thereunto, to search for a fit place, and finally, after sundry journeyes and travells to several places, the Lord did by his speciall providence, and answer of prayers, pitch us upon the place where we are at *Natick*. Unto which place my purpose at first was to have brought all the Praying *Indians* to Cohabit together: But it so fell out (by the guidance of God, as it now appeareth) that because the *Cohannet Indians* desired a place which they had reserved for themselves, and I finding that I could not at that time pitch there without opposition from some *English*, I refused that place, and pitched at *Natick*, where I found no opposition at present. This choyce of mine did move in the *Cohannet Indians* a jealousie that I had more affection unto those other *Indians* than unto them. By which occasion (together with some other Providences of God, as the death of *Cutshamoquin*, and the coming of *Josias*, to succeed in the Sachemship in that place) their minds were quite alienated from the place of *Natick*, though not from the work, for they desire to make a Towne in that fore-mentioned place of their owne, named *Ponkipog*, and are now upon the work. And indeed, it now appeareth to be of the Lord, because we cannot have competent accommodations at *Natick*, for those that be there, which are about fifty Lots, more or lesse. [p. 3.] And furthermore, by the blessing of God upon the work, there are People, partly prepared, and partly preparing for three Townes more. Insomuch, as that it is most evident, that had I proceeded according to my first intentions, to have called them all unto that one place, we must have been forced very quickly to have scattered againe, for want of accommodations for so great a company of Inhabitants, and so have discouraged them at our first onset of drawing them from their scattered way of living, unto Co-habitation: seeing it would have brought them unto such wants and streights as they could not have grapled withall, but rather would have been occasioned to think there were insuperable difficulties in this enterprise: Whereas in lesser companies they may find a more plentifull and better course of life then they found in that former way out of which they are called; as through

Gods mercy, and the bounty of good people in *England*, whose love layeth the foundation-stone of the work, they doe already feele and find at *Natick*, and begin to find at *Ponkipog*.

In prosecution of this work in the year 1650 we began by the Lords assistance our first Towne at *Natick*, where we built a Fort, and one dwelling-house. In the year 51 after Fasting and Prayer about that matter, they gave up themselves and their Children to be governed by the Lord, according to his word, in all wayes of civility, and chose among themselves Rulers of ten, fifty, and an hundred, according to the holy Patterne, so far as they could : In which way of Government the Lord hath not a little owned them, and blessed them.

In the year 52 I perceiving the grace of God in sundry of them, and some poor measure of fitnesse (as I was perswaded) for the enjoyment of Church-fellowship, and Ordinances of Jesus Christ, I moved in that matter, according as I have in the Narration thereof, briefly declared. In the year 53 I moved not that way, for these Reasons.

I having sent their Confessions to be published in *England*, I did much desire to hear what acceptance the Lord gave unto them, in the hearts of his people there, who daily labour at the Throne of grace, and by other expressions of their loves, for an holy birth of this work of the Lord, to the praise of Christ, and [p. 4.] the inlargement of his Kingdome. As also my desire was, that by such Books as might be sent hither, the knowledge of their Confessions might be spread here, unto the better and fuller satisfaction of many, then the transacting thereof in the presence of some could doe. These Books came by the latter Ships (as I remember) that were bound for *New-England*, and were but newly out when they set saile, and therefore I had not that answer that year, which my soule desired, though something I had which gave encouragement, and was a tast of what I have more fully heard from severall this year, praised be the Lord.

Besides there fell a great damping and discouragement upon us by a jealousie too deeply apprehended, though utterly groundlesse, *viz.* That even these praying *Indians* were in a conspiracy with others, and with the *Dutch*, to doe mischief to the *English*. In which matter, though the ruling part of the People looked otherwise upon them, yet it was no season for me to stir or move in this matter, when the waters were so troubled. This businesse needeth a calmer season, and I shall account it a favour of God when ever he shall please to cause his face to shine upon us in it. Yet this I did the last year, after the Books had been come a season, there being a great meeting at *Boston*, from other Colonies as well as our owne, and the Commissieners being there, I thought it necessary to take that opportunity to prepare and open the way in a readinesse against

this present year, by making this Proposition unto them; namely, *That they having now seen their confessions, if upon further triall of them in point of knowledge, they be found to have a competent measure of understanding in the fundamentall points of Religion; and also, if there be due testimony of their conversation, that they walke in a Christian manner according to their light, so that Religion is to be seen in their lives; whether then it be according to God, and acceptable to his people, that they be called up unto Church-estate?* Unto which I had I blesse the Lord, a generall approbation.

Accordingly this year 54 I moved the Elders, that they would give me advice and assistance in this great businesse, & that they would at a fit season examine the *Indians* in point of their knowledge, because we found by the former triall, that a day will be too little (if the Lord please to call them on to Church-fellowship) [p. 5.]to examine them in points of Knowledge, and hear their Confessions, and guide them into the holy Covenant of the Lord. Seeing all these things are to be transacted in a strange language, and by Interpreters, and with such a people as they be in these their first beginnings. But if they would spend a day on purpose to examine them in their knowledge there would be so much the more liberty to doe it fully and throughly, (as such a work ought to be) as also when they may be called to gather into Church-Communion, it may suffice that some one of them should make a Doctrinall Confession before the Lord and his people, as the rule of faith which they build upon, the rest attesting their consent unto the same: And themselves (the Elders I mean, if the Lord so far assist the *Indians*, as to give them satisfaction) might testifie that upon Examination they have found a competency of knowledge in them to inable them unto such a work and state. And thus the work might be much shortned, and more comfortably expedited in one day. I found no unreadinesse in the Elders to further this work.

Some dispute there was about Officers in the Church, if they should be found fit matter to proceed, of which I shall anon speak God-willing.

They concluded to attend the work, and for severall Reasons advised that the place should be at *Roxbury*, and not at *Natick*, and that the *Indians* should be called thither, the time they left to me to appoint, in such a season as wherein the Elders may be at best liberty from other publick occasions. The time appointed was the 13 of the 4 moneth; meanwhile I dispatched Letters unto such as had knowledge in the Tongue, requesting that they would come and help in Interpretation, or attest unto the truth of my Interpretations. I sent also for my Brother *Mayhu*, who accordingly came, and brought an Interpreter with him. Others whom I had desired, came not. I informed the *Indians* of this appointment, and of the end it was appointed for, which they therefore called, and still doe, when they have occasion to speak of it, *Natootomuhteáe kesuk, A day of asking*

Questions, or, *A day of Examination.* I advised them to prepare for it, and to pray earnestly about it, that they might be accepted among Gods people, if it were the will of God.

[p. 6.] It pleased God so to guide, that there was a publick Fast of all the Churches, betwixt this our appointment, and the accomplishment thereof: which day they kept, as the Churches did, and this businesse of theirs was a Principall matter in their Prayers.

It hath pleased God to lay his hand in sicknesse upon *Monequassun* our *Natick* Schoolmaster, so that we greatly wanted his help and concurrence in this businesse. Yea, and such is his disease (*viz.* an *Ulcer* in his Lungs) that I fear the Lord will take him away from us, to the great hindrance of our work, in respect of humane means: *Lord increase our faith!*

There fell out a very great discouragement a little before the time, which might have been a scandall unto them, and I doubt not but Satan intended it so; but the Lord improved it to stir up faith and Prayer, and so turned it another way: Thus it was. Three of the unsound sort of such as are among them that pray unto God, who are hemmed in by Relations, and other means, to doe that which their hearts love not, and whose Vices Satan improveth to scandalize and reproach the better sort withall; while many, and some good people are too ready to say they are all alike. I say three of them had gotten severall quarts of strong water, (which sundry out of a greedy desire of a little gaine, are too ready to sell unto them, to the offence and grief of the better sort of *Indians*, and of the godly English too) and with these Liquors, did not onely make themselves drunk, but got a Child of eleven years of age, the Son of *Toteswamp*, whom his Father had sent for a little Corne and Fish to that place near *Watertowne*, where they were. Unto this Child they first gave too spoonfuls of Strong-water, which was more then his head could bear; and another of them put a Bottle, or such like Vessel to his mouth, and caused him to drink till he was very drunk; and then one of them domineered, and said, *Now we will see whether your Father will punish us for drunkennesse* (for he is a Ruler among them) *seeing you are drunk with us for company*; and in this case lay the Child abroad all night. They also fought, and had been severall times Punished formerly for Drunkennesse.

When *Toteswamp* heard of this, it was a great shame and [p.7.] breaking of heart unto him, and he knew not what to doe. The rest of the Rulers with him considered of the matter, they found a complication of many sins together.

1 The sin of Drunkennesse, and that after many former Punishments for the same.

2 A willfull making of the Child drunk, and exposing him to danger also.

3 A degree of reproaching the Rulers.

4 Fighting.

Word was brought to me of it, a little before I took Horse to goe to *Natick* to keep the Sabbath with them, being about ten dayes before the appointed Meeting. The Tidings sunk my spirit extreamly, I did judge it to be the greatest frowne of God that ever I met with-all in the work, I could read nothing in it but displeasure, I began to doubt about our intended work: I knew not what to doe, the blacknesse of the sins, and the Persons reflected on, made my very heart faile me: For one of the offendors (though least in the offence) was he that hath been my Interpreter, whom I have used in Translating a good part of the Holy Scriptures; and in that respect I saw much of Satans venome, and in God I saw displeasure. For this and some other acts of Apostacy at this time, I had thoughts of casting him off from that work, yet now the Lord hath found a way to humble him. But his Apostacy at this time was a great Triall, and I did lay him by for that day of our Examination, I used another in his room. Thus Satan aimed at me in this their miscarrying; and *Toteswamp* is a Principall man in the work, as you shall have occasion to see anon God-willing.

By some occasion our Ruling Elder and I being together, I opened the case unto him, and the Lord guided him to speak some gracious words of encouragement unto me, by which the Lord did relieve my spirit; and so I committed the matter and issue unto the Lord, to doe what pleased him, and in so doing my soul was quiet in the Lord. I went on my journey being the 6 day of the week; when I came at *Natick*, the Rulers had then a Court about it. Soon after I came there, the Rulers came to me with a Question about this matter, they related the whole businesse unto me, with much trouble and grief.

[p. 8.] Then *Toteswamp* spake to this purpose, *I am greatly grieved about these things, and now God tryeth me whether I love Christ or my Child best. They say, They will try me; but I say, God will try me. Christ saith, He that loveth father, or mother, or wife, or Child, better than me, is not worthy of me. Christ saith, I must correct my Child, if I should refuse to doe that, I should not love Christ. God bid Abraham kill his Son, Abraham loved God, and therefore he would have done it, had not God with-held him. God saith to me, onely punish your Child, and how can I love God, if I should refuse to doe that?* These things he spake in more words, and much affection, and not with dry eyes: Nor could I refraine from teares to hear him. When it was said, The Child was not so guilty of the sin, as those that made him drunk; he said, *That he was guilty of sin, in that he feared not sin, and in that he did not believe his counsells that he had often given him, to take heed of evill company; but he had believed Satan and sinners more then him, therefore he needed to be punished.* After other such like discourse, the Rulers left me, and went unto their businesse, which they were about before I came, which they did bring unto this conclusion, and judge-

ment, They judged the three men to sit in the stocks a good space of time, and thence to be brought to the whipping-Post, & have each of them twenty lashes. The boy to be put in the stocks a little while, and the next day his father was to whip him in the School, before the Children there; all which Judgement was executed. When they came to be whipt, the Constable fetcht them one after another to the Tree (which they make use of instead of a Post) where they all received their Punishments: which done, the Rulers spake thus, one of them said, *The Punishments for sin are the Commandements of God, and the worke of God, and his end was, to doe them good, and bring them to repentance.* And upon that ground he did in more words exhort them to repentance, and amendment of life. When he had done, another spake unto them to this purpose, *You are taught in Catechisme, that the wages of sin are all miseries and calamities in this life, and also death and eternall damnation in hell. Now you feele some smart as the fruit of your sin, and this is to bring you to repentance, that so you may escape the rest.* And in more words he exhorted them [p. 9.] to repentance. When he had done, another spake to this purpose, *Heare all yee people* (turning himselfe to the People who stood round about, I think not lesse then two hundred, small and great) *this is the Commandement of the Lord, that thus it should be done unto sinners; and therefore let all take warning by this, that you commit not such sins, least you incur these Punishments.* And with more words he exhorted the People. Others of the Rulers spake also, but some things spoken I understood not, and some things slipt from me: But these which I have related remained with me.

When I returned to *Roxbury*, I related these things to our Elder, to whom I had before related the sin, and my grief: who was much affected to hear it, and magnified God. He said also, That their sin was but a Transient act, which had no Rule, and would vanish: But these Judgements were an ordinance of God, and would remaine, and doe more good every way, then their sin could doe hurt, telling me what cause I had to be thankfull for such an issue: Which I therefore relate, because the Lord did speak to my heart, in this exigent, by his words.

When the assembly was met for Examination of the *Indians*, and ordered, I declared the end and Reason of this Meeting, and therefore declared, That any one, in due order, might have liberty to propound any Questions for their satisfaction. Likewise, I requested the Assembly, That if any one doubted of the Interpretations that should be given of their Answers, that they would Propound their doubt, and they should have the words scanned and tryed by the Interpreters, that so all things may be done most clearly. For my desire was to be true to Christ, to their soules, and to the Churches: And the trying out of any of their Answers by the Interpreters, would tend to the satisfaction of such as doubt, as it fell out in one Answer which they

gave; the Question was, *How they knew the Scriptures to be the word of God?* The finall Answer was, Because they did find that it did change their hearts, and wrought in them wisedome and humility. This Answer being Interpreted to the Assembly, my Brother *Mahu* doubted, especially of the word [*Hohpoóonk*] signifying *Humility*, it was scanned by the Interpreters, and proved to be right, and he rested satisfied therein. I was purposed my [p. 10.] selfe to have written the Elders Questions, and the *Indians* Answers, but I was so imployed in propounding to the *Indians* the Elders Questions, and in returning the *Indians* Answers, as that it was not possible for me to write unlesse I had caused the Assembly to stay upon it, which had not been fitting; therefore seeing Mr. *Walton* writing, I did request him to write the Questions and Answers, and help me with a Copy of them, which I thank him, he did, a Copy whereof I herewith send to be inserted in this place, on which, this only I will animadvert, That the Elders in wisdome thought it not fit to ask them in Catechisticall method strictly, in which way Children might Answer. But that they might try whether they understood what they said, they traversed up and downe in Questions of Religion, as here you see.

Postscript.

LET the Reader take notice, That these Questions were not propounded all to one man, but to sundry, which is the reason that sometime the same Questions are propounded againe and againe. Also the number Examined were about eight, namely, so many as might be first called forth to enter into Church-Covenant, if the Lord give opportunity.

[p. 11.]

THE EXAMINATION OF THE INDIANS AT Roxbury,

The 13th Day of the 4th Month, 1654.

Quest: WHat *is God?*
Answ: An Ever-living Spirit.
Q. *What are the Attributes of God?*
A. God is Eternall, Infinite, Wise, Holy, Just.

Q. *In which of these are we like unto God?*
A. In Wisedome, Holinesse, and Righteousnesse: But in Infinitenesse and Eternity, God is onely like himselfe.

Q. *How many Gods are there?*
A. There is one onely God.

[p. 12.] Q. *Have not some Indians many Gods?*
A. They have many Gods.

Q, *How doe you know these Gods are no Gods?*
A. Before the English came we knew not but that they were Gods, but since they came we know they are no Gods:

Q. *What doe you find in the true God, that you find not in false Gods?*

A. I see in the English many things, that God is the true God,

Q. *What good things see you in the English?*

A. I see true love, that our great *Sachems* have not, and that maketh me think that God is the true God.

Q. *Doe you love God?*

A. A little I love God, my heart wanteth wisedome, but I doe desire to love him.

Q. *Why doe you love God?*

A. Because we are taught this, that when we dye, we must goe to God, and live ever with him.

Q. *Who among the Indians shall goe to God, and what are the signes that they shall goe to God?*

A. Every man that truly believeth in Jesus Christ shall goe to heaven.

Q. *Whether have you not many jealousies and feares that you love not God in truth?*

A. I hope I have some love to God, but I know that I have but little knowledge of him, I hope I love him.

Q. *How doe you understand that God ruleth in your heart?*

A. Before I prayed to God, I knew nothing of God, but since I have been taught, I desire to believe.

Q. *What is faith in Jesus Christ?*

A. I confesse I deserve to be damned for ever, and I am not able to deliver my selfe, but I betrust my soule with Jesus Christ.

Q. *Whether doth not your soule groane within you, under the sense of unbelief, and other sins?*

A. Since I have been taught, I find my selfe very weak, there is a little in me, sometimes my heart mournes, sometimes I desire more.

[p. 13.] Q. *How doe you know the word of God is Gods word?*

A. I believe the word that you teach us, was spoken of God.

Q. *Why doe you believe it?*

A. Therefore I believe it to be the word of God, because when we learn it, it teacheth our hearts to be wise and humble.

Q. *Whether are not your sins, and the temptations of* Hobbomak *more strong since, then before you prayed to God?*

A. Before I preyed to God, I knew not what Satans temptations were.

Q. *Doe you know now?*

A. Now I have heard what Satans temptations are.

Q. *What is a temptation of the Devill in your heart, doe you understand what it is?*

A. Within my heart there are Hypocrisies, which doe not appear without.

Q. *Whether doe not you find this a principall temptation from the wickednesse of your heart, to drive you away from Christ, and*

not to believe the gracious Promises in Jesus Christ? Or whether when you find wickednesse in your heart, you are not tempted, that you cannot believe?

A. My heart doth strongly desire to goe on in sin, but this is a strong temptation, but Faith is the work of Jesus Christ.

Q. *Why doe some believe in Christ, and not others, what maketh the difference?*

A. Because Satan speaks to some, and bids them not believe, and they hearken to him, and God speaks to others, and they believe God.

Q. *Why doe they believe God?*

A. It is the work of the Spirit of God teaching them to believe in Jesus Christ.

Another Indian being asked what he could say further to it, he Answered, *Jesus Christ sendeth his Spirit into their hearts, and teacheth them.*

Q. *What moveth Jesus Christ to send his Spirit, whether any thing in your selfe?*

A. I believe, the Promise of God.

Q. *Whether doe you indeed believe there is a God, Christ, Heaven, Hell, whether have you any doubts concerning these things or no?*

[p.14.] I doe but a little know my owne thoughts, but God throughly knoweth my heart, I desire to believe these things, I desire not to be an Hypocrite.

It being put to another Indian for further answer, he answered, My heart desires truly to pray unto God, and I more and more desire to believe these things. When I am taught by the word Preached, I desire to believe in particular, I desire to believe as long as I live.

Q. *What is the Word of God?*

A. That wherein God hath written his Will, and therein taught the way to Heaven.

Q. *What is sin?*

A. There is the root sin, an evill heart; and there is actuall sin, sin is a breaking of the Law of God.

Q. *Wherein doe you breake the Law of God?*

A. Every day in my heart, words, and works.

Q. *Why are you troubled for sin, that none ever knew but your selfe?*

A. I fear God and Jesus Christ.

Q. *What doe you believe about the immortality of the soule, and resurrection of the body? doth the soule dye when the body dyeth?*

A. I believe, when the body of a good man dyeth, the Angels carry his soule to heaven, when a wicked man dyeth, the Devills carry his soule to hell.

Q. *How long shall they be in that state?*

A. Untill Christ cometh to Judgement.

Q. *When Christ cometh to judge the world, what then shall become of them?*

A. The dead bodies of all men shall rise againe.

Q. *Whether shall they ever dye any more?*

A. Good men shall never dye any more.

Q. *Whether doe you believe that these very bodies of ours shall rise againe?*

A. This body which rots in the earth, this very body, God maketh it new.

Q. *Who is Jesus Christ?*

[p. 15.] *A.* Jesus Christ is the Son of God, yet borne man, and so both God and man.

Q. *Why was Christ Jesus a man?*

A. That he might dye for us.

Q. *Why is Christ Jesus God?*

A. That his death might be of great value.

Q. *Why doe you say, Christ Jesus was a man that he might dye, doe onely men dye?*

A. He dyed for our sins.

Q. *What reason or justice is there, that Christ should dye for our sins?*

A. God made all the world, and man sinned, therefore it was necessary Christ should dye to carry men up to Heaven. God hath given unto us his Son Jesus Christ, because of our sins.

The Question being put to another for further Answer, his Answer was, *That God so loved the world, that he gave his onely begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

Q. *What is God?*

A. An Ever-living Spirit.

Q. *What are the Attributes of God?*

A. As before.

Q. *In these Attributes wherein are we like God?*

A. As before.

Q. *How many Gods are there?*

A. One onely God, but he is three, the Father, Son. and Holy Ghost.

Q. *What is Eternall?*

A. Man is not like God in Eternall being.

Q. *What is infinite?*

A. All the World hath an end, but God hath no end.

Q. *Had God any beginning?*

A. No, but he is ever.

Q. *Was there alwaies an Heaven and Earth, how came they to be?*

A. Jehovah made them, and Governeth them all.

Q. *Were they ever?*

[p. 16] *A.* No.

Q. *How did God make the world?*

A. Onely the Will of God.

Q. *Out of what matter did God make the world?*

A. Not of any thing at all.

Q. *How long was God moving the world?*

A. Six dayes.

Q. *How cometh it to passe that the Sun riseth and setteth, that there is winter and Summer, day and night?*

A. All are the work of God.

Q. *Now the world is made can it keepe it selfe? By whose strength is it kept together?*

A. God preserveth it, he made it, and keeps it all.

Q. *In what condition was man made?*

A. Very good, like unto God.

Q. *What is the Image of God in man?*

A. Holinesse, Wisedome, and Righteousnesse.

Q. *Was there any sin in the soule of man?*

A. No.

Q. *What Covenant did God make with* Adam?

A. A Covenant of Works, *Doe this and live*, thou and thy Children, *Sin, and dye*, thou and thy Children.

Q. *How many Commandements are there?*

A. Ten.

Q. *What is the first Commandement?*

A. God spake these words, and said, *Thou shalt have no other Gods but me.*

Q. *What was the sin of* Adam?

A. He believed the Devil, and eat of the Tree in the midst of the Garden, of which God commanded him not to eat.

Q. *When* Adam *sinned, what befell him?*

A. He lost the Image of God.

Q. *What is that Image of God, which he lost?*

A. Wisedome, Holinesse, and Righteousnesse.

Q. *To whom is man now like?*

A. He is like unto Satan.

Q. *What is this likenesse to Satan?*

A. He is Unholy, Foolish, and Unrighteous.

[p. 17.] Q. *How many kinds of sin are there?*

A. An evill heart, and evill works

Q. *What doe you call it?*

A. We daily break Gods Commandements, and there is the root sin.

Q. *What is the wages of sin?*

A. All miseries in this life, and death, and damnation.

Q. *Whose wages is death?*
A. All unbelievers.
Q. *Seeing but one man* Adam *sinned, how come all to dye?*
A. *Adam* deserved for us all, that we should dye.

The Question being put to another for further answer, he answered, Adam was the first man, and father of all men, and in him we sinned.

Q. *Who is Jesus Christ?*
A. Christ is God, born like man, God and man in one person.
Q. *Why was Christ man?*
A. That he might dye.
Q. *Why was Christ God?*
A. That his death might be of great value.
Q. *How many are the Offices of Christ?*
A. Three. A Priest, a Prophet, a King.
Q. *What Sacrifice did Christ offer?*
A. His owne body.
Q. *What hath Christ done for us?*
A. He hath dyed for us.
Q. *What death dyed Christ for us? Who put him to death?*
A. Wicked men.
Q. *What else hath Christ done for us?*
A. He hath kept all the Commandements of God for us, and also dyed for us.
Q. *What hath Christ deserved, or merited for us?*
A. Pardon of sin and eternall life.
Q. The same Question was asked another, *What hath Christ merited?*
[p. 18.] A. Pardon of all our sins, because he paid a ransome, the favour of God, and Eternall life.
Q. *What else hath Christ done for us?*
A. He rose again, and ascended into Heaven.
Q. *What doth Christ in heaven for us?*
A. He appeareth for us before God, he prayeth for us, and giveth us the New Covenant.
Q. *What is the New Covenant?*
A. The Covenant of Grace, Repent and believe in Christ, and be saved.
Q. *Shall all men be saved by Jesus Christ?*
A. All that believe in Christ shall goe to heaven, and be saved.
Q. *Why doth thy heart desire Jesus Christ more then sin, and thy former Idolls?*
A. Before we prayed to God, I did not desire Jesus Christ, I did desire my sins, but now I see my need of Jesus Christ.

Q. *Why doe you need Christ?*
A. When I dye, Christ carrieth my soule to heaven.

The same put to another for further answer, he answered,
We need Jesus Christ, because we are full of sinne.

Q. *How doth Christ work Grace in our hearts?*
A. I beleive Christ hath sent his Spirit into my heart by his word.
Q. *What is repentance for sinne?*
A. I am ashamed of my selfe, and broken is my heart, I hate, and am aware of all sin.
Q. *What most of all breaks your heart, why is your heart broken?*
A. Because I have sinned against God.
Q. *What see you in sin that breaks your heart?*
A. It is not my owne work, but Christ sends his Spirit, and breaks my heart.
Q. *What doth he put into your heart, that causeth your heart to break?*
A. The Spirit.
[p. 19.] Q. *What wounds your heart most, because you sin, or because you must goe to hell?*
A. Because we must goe to hell.
Q. *When you heare that* Adam *by his sin deserved eternall death, and when you hear of the grace of God sending Jesus to save you, which of these break your heart most?*
A. Pardon of sin goeth deepest.
Q. *What worke of the Spirit finde you in your heart?*
A. The Spirit of God breaketh my heart to repent of all my sin, and turneth me from sin to believe in Jesus Christ.
Q. *Whether have you found at any time any such worke in your selfe?*
A. I am ashamed of my selfe, I doe not throughly find it in my heart to be so.
Q. *When God sendeth his Spirit, what doth it worke in us?*
A. A change of the heart.
Q. *What change hath God wrought in you of late, which was not in you in former times?*
A. The Spirit turneth us from our sins. to believe in Jesus Christ.
Q. *Doe you finde this in your heart, that your heart is turned from your sins?*
A. I find my heart turned, I leave my stealing, lying, lust, and now my heart believeth in Jesus Christ.
Q. *Doe you believe in Jesus Christ?*
A. I doe believe in Jesus Christ.
Q. *What is it to believe in Jesus Christ?*
A. I confesse I deserve to be damned, and am not able to deliver

my selfe, and therfore I doe give up my selfe unto Jesus Christ, and trust in him, casting away my sins.

Q. *Why doe you cast away your sins?*

A. They make me that I cannot love Jesus Christ.

Q. *Is there any promise set home on your heart that comforteth you, what Promise doe you remember?*

A. I believe the Promise of God, that he will pardon believers in Jesus Christ.

So far they proceeded in *Questions* and *Answers.*

[p. 20.] Some or other of the Elders did severall times publickly call upon the Interpreters, to be attentive to all things that passed, because they must relye upon their testimony, or to that purpose, praying them to speak if they doubted of any thing.

In the conclusion, the Elders saw good to call upon the Interpreters to give a publick testimony to the truth of Mr. *Eliots* Interpretations of the *Indians* Answers, which Mr. *Mahu* and the two Interpreters by him, did, all speaking one after another to this purpose, *That the Interpretations which Mr.* Eliot *gave of their Answers, was for the substance the same which the* Indians *auswered, many times the very words which they spake and alwayes the sense.*

William Walton.

When the day was well spent, in this above-written manner, some that were aged desired that an end might be put unto this work for this time, because by this tast which they had, they saw that which gave them comfortable satisfaction. Then I desired that (if it might be without prejudice to any) they might be further tryed with Questions about Christ, and grace wrought in us by the Spirit; and about the Ordinances of Christ (concerning which, no Questions had been yet propounded) and also about the estate of man after death, of the resurrection of the dead, and of the last Judgement, wherein they were, through the grace of Christ, in some measure instructed. But it was said, that they did perceive that they were instructed in points of Catechisme, by what they had heard from them. When they came to a conclusion, one of the Elders (*viz.* Mr. *Ezek: Rogers*) having first privately conferred with such of the Elders as sate near him, spake words of acceptance and encouragement both to me and to the *Indians*, in the name of the rest. But Mr. *Walton* did not write them, and therefore I omit the rehearsing of them.

This great and solemne work of calling up these poor *Indians* unto that Gospel light and beauty of visible Church-estate, [p. 21.] having

now passed through a second Tryall: In the former whereof, they expressed what experience they had found of Gods grace in their hearts, turning them from dead works, to seek after the living God, and salvation in our Saviour Jesus Christ. In this second they have in some measure declared how far the Lord hath let in the light of the good knowledge of God into their soules, and what tast they have of the Principles of Religion, and doctrine of salvation. Now the Question remaineth, *What shall we further doe? And when shall they enjoy the Ordinances of Jesus Christ in Church-estate?*

The work is very solemne, and the Question needeth a solemn Answer. It is a great matter to betrust those with the holy priviledges of Gods house, upon which the name of Christ is so much called, who have so little knowledge and experience in the wayes of Christ, so newly come out of that great depth of darknesse, and wild course of life; in such danger of polluting and defiling the name of Christ among their barbarous Friends and Countrey-men; and under so many doubts and jealousies of many people; and having not yet stood in the wayes of Christ so long, as to give sufficient proof and experience of their stedfastnesse in their new begun profession. Being also the first Church gathered among them, it is like to be a pattern and president of after proceedings, even unto following Generations. Hence it is very needfull that this proceeding of ours at first, be with all care and warinesse guided, for the most effectuall advancement of the holinesse and honour of Jesus Christ among them.

Upon such like grounds as these, though I and some others know more of the sincerity of some of them, then others doe, and are better satisfied with them: Yet because I may be in a temptation on that hand, I am well content to make slow hast in this matter, remembring that word of God, *Lay hands suddenly upon no man*. Gods works among men, doe usually goe on slowly, and he that goeth slowly, doth usually goe most surely, especially when he goeth by counsell. *Sat cito si sat bene*, the greater proof we have of them, the better approbation they may obtain at last. Besides, we having had one publick meeting about them already this summer, it will be difficult to [p. 22.] compasse another, for we have many other great occasions, which may hinder the same, and it is an hard matter to get Interpreters together to attend such a work, they living so remote. The dayes also will soon grow short, and the nights cold, which will be an hindrance in the attendance unto the accomplishment of that work, which will most fitly be done at *Natick*.

But above all other Reasons this is greatest, that they living in sundry Towns and places remote from each other, and labourers few to take care of them, it is necessary that some of themselves should be trained up, and peculiarly instructed, unto whom the care of ruling and ordering of them in the affaires of Gods house may be committed, in the absence of such as look after their instruction. So that this

is now the thing we desire to attend, for the comfort of our little *Sister that hath no breasts*, that such may be trained up, and prepared, unto whom the charge of the rest may be committed in the Lord. And upon this ground we make the slower hast to accomplish this work among them. Mean while I hope the Commissioners will afford some encouragement for the furtherance of the instruction of some of the most godly and able among them, who may be in a speciall manner helpfull unto the rest, in due order and season.

And thus have I briefly set down our present state in respect of our Ecclesiasticall proceedings. I beg the prayers of the good people of the Lord, to be particularly present at the Throne of Grace, in these matters, according as you have hereby a particular Information how our condition is. And for me also, who am the most unfit in humane reason for such a work as this, but my soule desireth to depend and live upon the Lord Jesus, and fetch all help, grace, mercy, assistance, and supply from him. And herein I doe improve his faithfull Covenant and Promises, and in perticular, the Lord doth cause my soule to live upon that word of his, *Psal.* 37. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. wherein I have food, rayment, and all necessaries for my selfe and Children (whom I have dedicated unto the Lord, to serve him in this work of his, if he will please to accept of them) and this supply I live upon in these rich words of gracious Promise, *vers.* 3. *Trust in the Lord,and doe good, dwell in the Land, and verily thou shalt be fed.*

Herein also I find supply of grace to believe the conversion of [p. 23.] these poor *Indians*, & that not only in this present season, in what I doe already see, but in the future also, further then by mine eye or reason I can see. Which supply of grace, I live upon in those words of his gracious Promise, which I apply and improve in this particular respect, *vers.* 4. *Delight thyselfe also in the Lord, and he shall give thee the desires of thy heart.*

Herein also I find supply of grace to believe, that they shall be in Gods season, which is the fittest, brought into Church Estate; faith fetching this particular blessing out of the rich Fountaine of those gracious words of Promise, *Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to passe.*

Herein also my soule is strengthned and quieted, to stay upon the Lord, and to be supported against all suspitious jealousies, hard speeches, and unkindnesses of men, touching the sincerity and reallity of this work, and about my carriage of matters, and supply herein. Which grace my soule receiveth by a particular improvement of that rich treasury of the Promise in these words, *vers.* 6. *And he shall bring forth thy righteousnesse as the light, and thy judgement as the noon day.* And herein likewise I find supply of grace, to wait patiently for the Lords time, when year after year, and time after time, I meet with disappointments. Which grace I receive from the commanding force of that gracious Promise, *vers.* 7. *Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him, fret not thy selfe*, either for one cause, or

another. Thus I live, and thus I labour, here I have supply, and here is my hope, I beg the help of prayers, that I may still so live and labour in the Lords work, and that I may so live and dye.

THe *Corporation (appointed by Act of Parliament) for Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen Natives in* New-England, *desire all men to take notice, That such as desire to be satisfied how the moneys collected, are disposed of, may (if they please) repaire to* Coopers-Hall, London, *any* Saturday, *between the houres of Nine and Twelve in the forenoone, where the said Corporation meet.*

FINIS.

Concord, New Hampshire, 12 *Dec.* 1832.

To the Publishing Committee of
the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Gentlemen,

The enclosed List of Representatives to the General Court of Massachusetts for the years 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, was derived from the State Records of Massachusetts, and communicated to me by a gentleman of Boston. If suitable for your Collections, it is at your service.

With respect,

I am, &c.

JOHN FARMER.

A LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES

IN THE

GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS,

From the Deposition of Sir Edmund Andros, in 1689, *to the Commencement of the New Charter, in* 1692.

[The number of Courts summoned during this period was sixteen, which, for convenience in designating those in which each member served, will be numbered. 1689, (1) 9 May; (2) 23 May; (3) 5 June; (4) 5 November; (5) 3 December; 1690, (6) 12 February; (7) 28 May; (8) 8 October; (9) 10 December; 1691, (10) 3 February; (11) 14 April; (12) 20 May; (13) 14 October; (14) 8 December; 1692, (15) 8 March; (16) 4 May. The figures after the names show in which Courts the members served. Those in small capitals were speakers.]

Boston, THOMAS OAKES 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; James Taylor 1, 2; John Clark 1, 2, 7, 8; Theophilus Frary 1, 2, 7–16; Timothy Prout 3, 5–16; PENN TOWNSEND 3–16; Adam Winthrop 3–6, 12, 13, 15, 16.

Salem, John Corwin 1, 2; John Price 1–6; John Higginson 3, 5, 6; John Ruck 7–11; Nathaniel Putnam 7–11; Manasseh Marston 12–15; John Putnam 12–15; Timothy Lindall 16.

Dorchester, Samuel Clap 1–16; Timothy Tileston 1–6, 16.

Charlestown, Jonathan Call, sen. 1, 2; John Fowle 1, 2; Richard Sprague 3; Joseph Lynde 3–16; Samuel Heyman 7–16.

Newbury, Stephen Greenleaf 1–7; Thomas Noyes 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 16; Joseph Pike 8–15.

Andover, John Osgood 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Thomas Chandler 7; Christopher Osgood 8, 9; Dudley Bradstreet 10, 11.

Braintree, Samuel Tompson 1, 7 – 10, 12; Christopher Webb 2 – 6; Joseph Crosby 2; Edmund Quincy 16.

Medfield, Edward Adams 1, 2; John Harding 4, 5.

Wrentham, John Ware 1, 2; Samuel Fisher 3, 5; Oliver Fisher 4.

Sherburne, Edward West 1, 2.

Beverly, William Dodge 1, 2, 7; Peter Woodbury 1, 2; William Raymond 3; John Dodge 5, 6; Andrew Elliot 8 – 16.

Woburn, Samuel Walker 1, 2; John Pierce 1, 2; James Convers 3 – 6, 13, 16; Matthew Johnson 3 – 12, 14, 15.

Billerica, Ralph Hill 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Joseph Walker 1, 2; Simon Crosby 10, 11.

Dedham, Nathaniel Stearns 1, 3, 5 – 8, 10; Thomas Fuller 2; Thomas Metcalf 12; Timothy Dwight 13 – 16.

Salisbury, Jacob Morril 1, 2, 3, 5; Henry True 1, 2, 9, 16; Nathaniel Brown 12; John Eastman 13, 14.

Amesbury, Samuel Colby 1, 2, 3; C. Foote 1, 2; Samuel Foote 6; Thomas Harvey 9, 10; Thomas Fowler 16.

New Cambridge (Newton), John Ward 1, 2, 3, 13, 14, 15.

Groton, John Parris 1.

Bradford, Samuel Stickney 1, 2, 3, 6.

Lancaster, Ralph Houghton 1, 2; John Moore, jr. 3, 4; John Moore, sen. 5, 6; John Houghton 9.

Lynn, Oliver Purchis 1, 2, 3, 5; John Shepard 1, 2; John Burrill 12 – 16,

Gloucester, James Stevens 1, 3, 5, 6, 7; William Ellery 2; William Sargent 8 – 12.

Mendon, Josiah Chapin 1, 2; Capt. Haskell 16.

Marlborough, Obadiah Ward, sen. 1, 2, 3, 8 – 11; John Brigham 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Abraham Williams 13.

Rowley, John Pearson, sen. 1 – 6; Daniel Wicom 1, 2; Ezekiel Jewett 9 – 11, 13, 14, 16; John Dresser 12.

Topsfield, Thomas Baker 1 – 6; John Gould 9, 10, 11.

Reading, Jeremiah Swain 1, 2; Benjamin Fitch 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 15; Nathaniel Goodwin 6 – 11, 16.

Malden, Henry Green 1, 2, 3, 16; John Wilson 1, 2, 3; Phinehas Sprague 5, 6, 7; John Sprague 4, 6, 8, 10, 11; John Green 13 – 15.

Muddy River (Brookline), Andrew Gardner 1, 2, 3.

Stow, Stephen Hall 1, 2.

Concord, Simon Davis 1 – 7, 16; Ebenezer Prout 1 – 7; Henry Woodhouse 8 – 11; James Blood 12; Humphrey Barrett 13.

Milton, William Blake 1 – 6.

Medford, Peter Tufts 1 – 3; Peter Tufts, jr. 4 – 6, 10 – 12; N. Wade, 13, 14.

Boxford, John Peabody 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14.

Haverhill, Peter Ayer 1 – 6; John Johnson 9, 10.

Wenham, Walter Fairfield 1, 2; Thomas Patch 1, 2, 3; Thomas Fiske 4 – 8, 13.

Sudbury, Peter King 1 – 6; Peter Noyes 8 – 11; John Haynes 13, 14; Joseph Freeman 13, 14.

Roxbury, Samuel Ruggles 1 – 16; Nathaniel Holmes 1, 2; John Bowles 3 – 6.

Weymouth, William Torrey 1, 2; Ephraim Hunt 1, 2, 7, 12 – 14; Jacob Nash 3 – 6, 8, 10, 11; John Holbrook 16.

Cambridge, Samuel Champney 1 – 16; Edward Fisk 1 – 5; David Fisk 6.

Chelmsford, Josiah Richardson 1 – 6; Edward Spalding 10, 11.

Marblehead, Nathaniel Norden 1 – 6.

Watertown, William Bond 1 – 7, 9, 13 – 15; Benjamin Garfield 2, 16; Simon Stone 3, 5, 6.

Ipswich, Nehemiah Jewett 1, 2, 7; John Wise 1, 2; Daniel Epes 3 – 6; Simon Stacy 3 – 6; Nathaniel Rust 8 – 11; Samuel Ingalls 9 – 11; Nicholas Wallis 12 – 15; William Goodhue, jr. 12, 14, 15; Robert Kinsman 16.

Hingham, Thomas Andrews 2 – 6; John Leavitt 8, 10; Nathaniel Beal 12, 13.

Dunstable, John Waldo 2; Cornelius Waldo 3; Robert Parris 5.

Deerfield, Thomas Weld 2.

Westfield, Cornet Dewey 2, 13.

Northampton, John King 2, 3; Joseph Bridgham 7; Medad Pomeroy 9; Jona. Hunt 12; Joseph Hawley 12, 13, 16.

Hatfield, Samuel Partridge 2, 12, 13; Ebenezer Frary 12.

Hadley, Aaron Cook 2, 12; A. Cook, jr. 4; Timothy Nash 7, 13.

Springfield, Henry Chapin 2; John Holyoke 12.

Salem-Village (Danvers), Daniel Andrews 3.

Hull, Abram Jones 4, 5.

Portsmouth, Elias Stileman 7; John Foster 7; Richard Waldron 12, 13, 16; John Pickering 12, 14.

Oakes was Speaker at the 3d, 4th, and 5th Courts; Bowles at the 6th; Townsend from 8th to 12th and the 16th; and Bond at the 13th, 14th, and 15th.

CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[Continued from Vol. III, Third Series, p. 190.]

Rev. Dr. Holmes,

Sir,—As I have hitherto pursued my Ecclesiastical Sketches for New Hampshire without any regard to the order of time the several churches in this State were formed, being, at the time the Sketches commenced, unable to collect any particular information of several of the early churches, the readers of the Collections can have had no connected view of their origin and progress, and their number at different periods. I propose to give you sketches, similar to those already given, of the first fifty Congretional Churches formed in New Hampshire (not including those of which notices have already been given), and shall endeavour to arrange them in the order of time they were respectively organized. Such an arrangement I have long wished to make, and after considerable investigation now attempt, by putting down against each church either the actual time it was formed, or the time when the first pastor was inducted into office. By this method an approximation to correctness may be obtained, as most of the churches were gathered about the time the first ministers were ordained, and generally on the same or the preceding day. The dates without brackets show the time the churches were organized; those included in brackets the time the first ministers were ordained.

Churches.	Founded.
Exeter 1st church,	1638.
Hampton,	1639.
Dover,	1639.
Portsmouth 1st church,	1671.

Churches.	Founded.
Dunstable,	[16 Dec. 1685.]
Portsmouth 2d church,	1703.
New-Castle,	[1704.]
Greenland,	[15 July, 1707.]
Hampton-Falls,	[13 Jan. 1712.]
Newington,	[16 Nov. 1715.]
Durham,	26 March, 1718.
Stratham,	April or May, 1718.
Kingston,	[1725.]
Rye,	20 July, 1726.
Concord,	18 Nov. 1730.
Somersworth,	[28 Oct. 1730.]
Plaistow,	2 Dec. 1730.
Newmarket,	[1730.]
Chester,	[1731.]
Gosport,	[26 July, 1732.]
Winchester,	12 Nov. 1736.
Pembroke,	1 March, 1737.
Kensington,	[Nov. 1737.]
Nottingham-West,	30 Nov. 1737.
Rochester,	[1737.]
East-Kingston,	[1738.]
Keene,	18 Oct. 1738.
North-Hampton,	31 Oct. 1739.
Salem,	[30 Jan. 1740.]
Boscawen,	[8 Oct. 1740.]
Amherst,	22 Sept. 1741.
Swanzey,	4 Nov. 1741.
Litchfield,	[1741.]
Nottingham,	[1742.]
Hollis,	[20 April, 1743.]
South-Hampton,	[1743.]
Epping,	[9 Dec. 1747.]
Exeter 2d church,	1748.
Pelham,	13 Nov. 1751.
Hampstead,	[24 June, 1752.]
Brentwood,	[1752.]
Charlestown,	[4 Dec. 1754.]
Hopkinton,	23 Nov. 1757.
Lyndeborough,	3 Dec. 1757.
Portsmouth 3d church,	14 Oct. 1758.
Newtown,	[1759.]
Sandown,	[1759.]

New-Ipswich, ...	[22 Oct. 1760.]
Walpole, ...	10 June, 1761.
Epsom, ...	[23 Sept. 1761.]

EXETER.

The first Congregational church in New Hampshire is supposed to have been established at Exeter in the year 1638. The Rev. John Wheelwright, "having been banished from Massachusetts for his Antinomianism, with eight of his brethren, obtained dismission from the church in Boston; and they formed themselves into a church, and removed to Exeter that year. He continued there till 1642, when the inhabitants of the town came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and Mr. Wheelwright soon after removed, with several of his friends, to Wells in Maine. The original commission for surveying that town was issued by Thomas Gorges in July 1643, and directed to 'Mr. John Wheelwright, minister of God's word,' and two others. He spent about four years in Wells, when he became reconciled to the government of Massachusetts, and was settled in the ministry at Hampton, in this State, as colleague with Mr. Dalton, where he remained about ten years, and then went to England. He was in favor with Oliver Cromwell; whose contemporary he was in the University. The Protector, upon Wheelwright's being presented, said that 'he could remember the time when he was more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball than he had since been of meeting an army in the field; for he was infallibly sure of being *tript up* by him.' On the accession of Charles II. Mr. Wheelwright returned to New England and settled at Salisbury, Massachusetts, where he died suddenly of an apoplectic fit, Nov. 15, 1679, being at the time of his decease the oldest minister in the colony. Dr. Cotton Mather said of him that 'he was a man of the most unspotted morals and unblemished reputation,' and that 'his worst enemies never looked on him as chargeable with the least ill practices.' He had been in the ministry in England before he came to America. He fled from persecution in his native land, and met it in the wilderness. He appears to have been a man of piety and talents; but he was a man, and therefore liable to err. The common effect of persecution is not to convince men of the

right, but to confirm them in the wrong. Mr. Wheelwright became sensible that he had erred, and acknowledged it. The Massachusetts government restored him to the freedom of the colony. But it is no easy matter with most men truly to forgive the man whom they have injured. Mr. Wheelwright was not regarded with that respect and esteem which he appears to have deserved. His descendants were reputable. His son, grandson, and great grandson were of the council for the province of Massachusetts." *

Mr. Wheelwright was succeeded in 1650 by the Rev. Samuel Dudley, a son of Gov. Thomas Dudley. He was born in England about the year 1606; married in 1633 Mary Winthrop, daughter of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. He left seven sons and as many as five daughters. Thomas Dudley, his eldest son, born in Boston 9 March, 1634, graduated at Harvard College in 1651, and was fellow of the College. Mr. Dudley resided some time in Salisbury, and was deputy from that town in 1641, and was occasionally engaged in public business after his settlement at Exeter. He died in 1683, having been considered "a person of good capacity and learning." His descendants are numerous in this State and Maine.

Rev. John Clark, who graduated at Harvard College in 1690, succeeded Mr. Dudley, and was ordained 21 September, 1698, when "the church was organized anew." He died in the fall of 1705, [one account I have, says 25 July, 1705,] at the age of 35. Ward Clark, his youngest son, was graduated at Harvard College in 1723, and was the minister of Kingston.

Rev. John Odlin, who graduated at Harvard College in 1702, succeeded Mr. Clark, and was ordained 12 November, 1706. He died in 1754, aged 72, and was succeeded by his son,

Rev. Woodbridge Odlin, who graduated at Harvard College, 1738, and was ordained 28 September, 1743. He died 10 March, 1776, aged 57. On the side of his mother, he was descended from Rev. John Woodbridge, the first minister of Andover.

Rev Isaac Mansfield, who graduated at Harvard College in 1767, succeeded Mr. Odlin, and was ordained in 1776, and dismissed in 1787.

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* Article Ecclesiastical Memoranda in Farmer and Moore's Collections, Vol. II. p. 235.

Rev. William Frederic Rowland, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1784, was ordained in 1790. — Such have been the ministers of this ancient church for 187 years, during which time there have been twenty-six years in which it was destitute of regularly settled pastors.

Respectfully yours,

F.

Concord, N. H., 23 July, 1825.

[The first portion of the following paper (pp. 297 — 308,) was originally published in the "Collections of the New-York Historical Society," (Vol. III. pp. 387 — 404.) By the courtesy of that Society, the Publishing Committee are enabled to insert it here, with the author's emendations, as giving completeness to Dr. Mease's subsequent communication to the Massachusetts Historical Society.]

DESCRIPTION

OF SOME OF

THE MEDALS,

Struck in relation to Important Events in North America, before and since the Declaration of Independence by the United States. By JAMES MEASE, M. D.

1. OCCASION. — Settlement of Pennsylvania. Silver.

Face. — A head of William Penn.

Legend. — WILLIAM PENN — BORN 1644, DIED 1718.

Reverse. Device. — Penn standing; his left hand on his walking cane, and shaking hands with an Indian Chief, who is holding a bow in his left hand.

Legend. — BY DEEDS OF PEACE.

Exergue. — PENNSYLVANIA, SETTLED 1681.*

2. OCCASION. — In honor of the late General John Armstrong, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for destroying the Kitanning Indian town. Silver.

Device. — An officer followed by two soldiers: the officer pointing to a soldier shooting from behind a tree, and an Indian prostrate before him. In the back ground Indian houses are seen in flames.

Legend. — KITANNING DESTROYED BY COLONEL ARMSTRONG, SEPTEMBER 8, 1756.

Reverse. Device. — The arms of the corporation of Philadelphia. These consisted of four devices: on the right hand, a ship under full sail: on the left, a pair of scales equally balanced: on the right, above the ship, a wheat-sheaf: on the left, two hands locked.

Legend. — THE GIFT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.†

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* I am not informed by whose authority this medal was struck. It is preserved in the Cabinet of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

† Silver medals were presented to each of the commissioned officers.

The district including the site of the battle fought between General (then Colonel) Armstrong's troops and the Indians, is now called "Armstrong County," and contained in 1812, according to the official census by the marshal of Pennsylvania, 6,413 inhabitants. The population of the county of Armstrong, in 1830, was 17,625.

I have read the copy of Colonel Armstrong's letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania (William Denny), in one of the books of public documents in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth, and can assure the Society, that the following account contains all the essential particulars of the action. The letter is very long, and minutely details the progress of his march, and the occurrences that took place during the expedition. The account is taken from Franklin and Hall's "Pennsylvania Gazette" of September 23d, 1756.

"Saturday last, arrived an express from Colonel Armstrong, of Cumberland county, with advice that he marched from Fort Shirley, on the 30th past, with about 300 of our provincial forces, on an expedition against Kitanning, a town of our Indian enemies on the Ohio, about 25 miles above fort Duquesne (Pittsburg).* On the third inst. he joined the advanced party at the Beaver Dams, near Frankstown; and on the seventh, in the evening, being within 6 miles of Kitanning, the scouts discovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or at most four Indians at it. It was not thought proper to attempt surprising those Indians at that time, lest, if one should escape, the town might be alarmed; so Lieutenant Hogg, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them till day-break: and our forces turned out of the path, to pass by their fire without disturbing them. About three in the morning, having been guided by the whooping of the Indian warriors at a dance in the town, they reached the river, 100 perches below the body of the town, near a corn-field, in which a number of the enemy lodged, out of their cabins, as it was a warm night. As soon as day appeared, and the town could be seen, the attack began in the corn-field, through which our people charged, killing several of the enemy, and entered the town. Captain Jacobs, the chief of the Indians, gave the war-whoop, and defended his house bravely through loop-holes in the logs, and the Indians generally refused quarters, which were offered them, declaring they were men, and would not be prisoners. Colonel Armstrong (who now received a wound in his shoulder by a musket-ball) ordered their houses to be set on fire over their heads, which was immediately done. When the Indians were told that they would be burnt if they did not surrender, one of them replied, 'he did not care, as he could kill four or five before he died;' and as the heat approached, some began to sing. Some, however, burst out of their houses, and attempted to reach the river, but were instantly shot down. Captain Jacobs, in getting out of a window, was shot, as also his squaw, and a lad called the king's son. The Indians had a number of spare arms in their houses, loaded, which went off in quick succession as the fire came to them; and quantities of gunpowder, which had been stored in every house, blew up from time to time, throwing some of their bodies a great height in the air. A body of the enemy on the opposite side of the river, fired on our people, and were seen to cross the river at a distance, as if to surround our men; they collected some Indian horses that were near the town, to carry off the wounded; and then retreated without going back to the corn-field to pick up those killed there in the beginning of the action. Several of the enemy were killed in the river, as they attempted to escape

* Kitanning is on the Alleghany river, 44 miles above Pittsburg.

by fording it; and it was computed that, in all, between thirty and forty were destroyed. Eleven English prisoners were released, and brought away, who informed the Colonel, that, besides the powder (of which the Indians boasted they had enough for ten years' war with the English), there was a great quantity of goods burnt, which the French had made them a present of but ten days before. The prisoners also informed, that, that very day, two batteaux of French Indians were to join Captain Jacobs to march and take fort Shirley, and that twenty-four warriors had set out before them, the preceding evening, which proved to be the party that kindled the fire the night before: for our people, returning, found Lieutenant Hogg wounded in three places, and learnt that he had, in the morning, attacked the supposed party of three or four, at the fire place, according to order, but found them too numerous for him. He killed three of them, however, at the first fire, and fought them an hour, when, having lost three of his best men, the rest, as he lay wounded, abandoned him and fled, the enemy pursuing. Captain Mercer, being wounded in the action, was carried off by his ensign and eleven men, who left the main body in their return, to take another road."

Annexed, is a return of the killed and wounded, and the names of the released prisoners. Captain Mercer,* with twenty-three soldiers, and four released prisoners afterwards returned safe.

The Corporation of Philadelphia, on the 5th of January, 1757, addressed a complimentary letter to Colonel Armstrong, thanking "him, his officers and men, for their gallant conduct, and presented him with a piece of plate, besides the silver medal. A silver medal was also presented to each of the commissioned officers, and "a small sum of money, to be disposed of in the manner most agreeable to them."

3. Occasion. — Promoting peace with the Indian tribes.

Device. — A head of George the Second.

Reverse. Device. — A citizen and Indian seated under a tree; the former holding up the calumet of peace: the Indian in the act of receiving it. A fire, as usual on such occasions, is between them. The sun is in the zenith.

Legend. — LET US LOOK TO THE MOST HIGH, WHO BLESSED OUR FATHERS WITH PEACE. — 1757.

The medals were struck at the expense of the association (chiefly composed of the religious society called Quakers), formed for the purpose of promoting peace with the Indian tribes. The gentleman† to whom I owe the knowledge of this fact says further, "I well remember the striking of those medals by my father. They were executed in silver and presented to the Indians by the Society. The appropriate inscription on the reverse, is

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* General Mercer of the United States army, who died near Princeton, of the effects of a blow received in the battle at that town, January 12, 1777.

† Mr. Joseph Richardson, assayer of the mint of the United States. Mr. Richardson's father was a silversmith in Philadelphia, and the son of one of the original settlers of the province under William Penn. Mr. Richardson informed me that the original dies of the medals for "Colonel Armstrong," and for "promoting peace with the Indians," were in his possession, and permitted me to have some medals struck from them. One of each is deposited in the cabinet of the [New-York] Historical Society.

truly characteristic, and may serve to convey to posterity a just idea of the men of influence in those days."

4. Occasion. — Evacuation of Boston by the British troops, in 1776. Gold.

Face. — The head of General Washington, in profile.

Legend. — GEORGIO WASHINGTON SUPREMO DUCI EXERCITUUM ADSERTORI LIBERTATIS COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Troops advancing towards a town which is seen at a distance. Troops marching to the river. Ships in view. General Washington in front, and mounted, with his staff, whose attention he is directing to the embarking enemy.

Legend. — HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS

Exergue. — BOSTONIUM RECUPERATUM XVII. MARTII MDCCLXXVI.

This medal was ordered to be struck by a resolve of Congress, of March 25th, 1776, and to be presented to General Washington. A vote of thanks was also passed to him, and "the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston."

5. Occasion. — Surrender of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and his army, at Saratoga, New York, in 1777. Gold.

Face. — A head of General Gates, in profile.

Legend. — HORATIO GATES DUCI STRENUO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Gates and Burgoyne in front of the American and British troops. Burgoyne in the act of presenting his sword to Gates. The Americans on the right, with arms shouldered, and colors flying. The British on the left, in the act of grounding their arms, and laying down their colors. By the side of the two Generals are a drum and stand of colors.

Legend. — SALUS REGIONUM SEPTENTRIONAL.

Exergue. — HOSTE AD SARATOGAM IN DEDITION. ACCEPTO DIE XVII OCT. MDCCLXXVII.

This medal (which weighs 10 half Joannes,*) was ordered by a resolve of Congress of November 4, 1779, which stated the particular defeats of Burgoyne's army and detachments from it. (Journals of Congress, 1777, p. 472.) The reader is referred to "A State of the Expedition from Canada, as laidbefore the House of Commons, by Lieutenant General Burgoyne, London 1780," for a variety of interesting details of the march, repeated battles, and progress from Canada to Saratoga of the British army: to the British "Annual Register" for 1779, p. 149: also to General Wilkinson's "Memoirs," for many particulars never before published of that expedition, and of the capitulation of General Burgoyne: see also Gates's Life, in "The Port Folio," New Series, Vol. II. with a plate of the medal.

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* Medical Repository, New York, Vol. IV. p. 307.

6. Occasion. — Capture of the English frigate Serapis, Captain Pearson, by the Bon Homme Richard, Captain John Paul Jones. Gold.

Face. — Head of John Paul Jones, a good likeness.

Legend. — JOANNI PAULO JONES CLASSIS PREFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Two frigates engaged yard-arm and yard-arm : the English ship severely battered in the sides. Another ship lying across the bow of the British frigate.

Legend. — HOSTIUM NAVIBUS CAPTIS AUT FUGATIS.

Exergue. — AD ORAM SCOTIÆ XXIII. SEPT. MDCCLXXVIII.

This medal was struck by order of Congress in 1787. The one I saw was of copper. Considering that Jones fought under the American flag, and that the victory over the Serapis was highly honorable to our country, he certainly deserved a medal. He had besides made several other captures, and had done great injury to the British. The action between the Richard and the Serapis was very severe, and lasted four hours. Jones's account of it, and a journal of his naval exploits, may be seen in "Niles's Register," (Baltimore,) Vol. II. p. 296.* Captain Pearson's is inserted in the British "Annual Register," London, 1779. — See also Clarke's Naval History of the United States. The Serapis carried 44 guns on two decks, the lower battery consisting of 18-pounders; and the Countess of Scarborough, her consort, was a new ship of 22 guns. Jones's ship, the Richard, he says, only carried 34 12-pounders. The battle was fought by moonlight, off Flamborough head. To relieve himself from the superiority of his enemies, and to cover his ship from the fire of the Countess of Scarborough, Jones grappled with the Serapis, on which her consort ceased to fire, the captain knowing that by firing he must endanger the Serapis; while the captain of the Alliance, the American ship in company with the Richard, fired three broadsides, which did much mischief to her. She sunk two days after the action. Pearson was knighted after his exchange, and made one of the officers of Greenwich hospital. He died a few years since.

On the 27th February, 1781, Congress passed a very complimentary resolve expressive of their sense of the military conduct of Captain Jones, especially in the capture of the Serapis; and of their approbation of the honor intended to be conferred on him by the King of France (as communicated to them) by investing him with the "cross of military merit." And on the 26th June of the same year, they unanimously elected him captain of the *American*, a 74-gun ship; but he was deprived of the honor of her command, in consequence of the loss of the French ship *Magnifique* 74, in the harbour of Boston, when Congress seized the opportunity to testify their gratitude to their good ally, by presenting him with the *American* to replace her. The King of France also presented him with a sword, the hilt of which was composed of gold, and bore the following flattering motto:

Vindicati Maris
Ludovicus XVI. Remunerator
Strenuo Vindici.

7. Occasion. — Taking the fort of Stony-Point, on the North River, by storm. Gold.

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* See also the Biography of Paul Jones, by Mr. Sherburne, 1825, and another by his niece, Mrs. Taylor, 1830.

Device. — An Indian Queen crowned, a quiver on her back, and wearing a short apron of feathers: a mantle hangs from her waist behind: the upper end of the mantle appears as if passed through the girdle of her apron, and hangs gracefully by her left side. She is presenting, with her right hand, a wreath to General Wayne, who receives it gracefully. In her left hand, the Queen is holding up a mural crown towards the General. On her left, and at her feet, an alligator is stretched out. She stands on a bow: a shield, with the American stripes, rests against the alligator.

Legend. — ANTONIO WAYNE DUCI EXERCITUS COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. Device. — A fort with two turrets, on the top of a hill: the British flag flying: troops in single, or Indian file, advancing in the front and rear up the hill: numbers lying at the bottom. Troops advancing in front, at a distance, on the edge of the river: another party to the right of the fort. A piece of artillery posted on the plain, so as to bear upon the fort: ammunition on the ground: six vessels in the river.

Legend. — STONEY POINT EXPUGNATUM.

Exergue. — XV. JUL. MDCCLXXIX.

By the journals of Congress for July 26, 1779, it appears that the attack on the fort of Stony Point was ordered by General Washington on the 10th of July. General Wayne issued his orders on the 15th, on the night of which day the attack was successfully made. Congress passed a vote of thanks to General Wayne, and the officers and soldiers under his command, particularly mentioning Colonel de Fleury, Major Stewart, Lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, the two first of whom led the attacking columns, and the two last the parties ordered to destroy the double row of *abatis*, which they did under a severe fire. The first of them lost 17 out of 20 men. Gibbons, Knox, and Mr. Archer, General Wayne's aid, were promoted; and the stores were divided among the troops. The fort was garrisoned by the 17th British regiment, the grenadiers of the 71st, and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Johnson, by whom a stout resistance was made. The prisoners amounted to 543. An excellent account of the gallant exploit may be seen in the British "Annual Register" for 1779, p. 192.* Not a musket was fired by the American troops; and although the laws of war, and the principle of retaliation would have justified the sacrifice of the garrison in return for the cruel conduct of the British General Grey, when he surprised General Wayne near the Paoli tavern, on the Lancaster road, two years before, yet not a man was killed who asked for quarters.

The medal granted to General Wayne is superbly executed, and most tastefully designed. The description is taken from the original in the possession of General Wayne's son. It weighs 63 dwt. 18 grains. Mr. Gibbons is at present collector of the port of Richmond, Virginia. He and his gallant companion Knox were natives of Pennsylvania: Fleury was a Frenchman. Stewart was killed by a fall from his horse, near Charleston, South Carolina, at the close of the American war. Archer died in Philadelphia, about the year 1786.

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* And also in the "Analectic Magazine," Philadelphia, 1819.

Captain Benjamin Fishbourne, of Philadelphia, was another of the aids of General Wayne: both are highly praised by the General in his official letter.

8. Occasion. — Same as the preceding. Silver.

Device. — America, personified in an Indian queen, is presenting a palm branch to Captain Stewart: a quiver hangs at her back: her bow and an alligator are at her feet: with her left hand she supports a shield inscribed with the American stripes, and resting on the ground.

Legend. — JOHANNI STEWART COHORTIS PREFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — A fortress on an eminence: in the foreground, an officer cheering his men, who are following him over *abatis* with charged bayonets, in pursuit of a flying enemy: troops in Indian files ascending the hill to the storm, front and rear: troops advancing from the shore: ships in sight.

Exergue. — STONEY POINT OPPUGNATUM XV JUL. MDCCLXXIX.

9. Occasion. — Same as the preceding. Silver.

Device. — A soldier helmeted and standing against the ruins of a fort: his right hand extended, holding a sword upright: the staff of a stand of colors reversed in his left: the colors under his feet: his right knee drawn up, as if in the act of stamping on them.

Legend. — VIRTUTIS ET AUDACIÆ MONUM. ET PRÆMIUM D. DE FLEURY EQUITI GALLO PRIMO SUPER MUROS RESP. AMERIC. D. D.

Reverse. — Two water batteries, three guns each: one battery firing at a vessel: a fort on a hill: flag flying: river in front: six vessels before the fort.

Legend. — AGGERES PALUDES HOSTES VICTI.

Exergue. — STONY-PT. EXPUGN. XV. JUL. MDCCLXXIX.

10. Occasion. — Capture of Major André, Adjutant-General of the British army. Silver.

Device. — A shield.

Legend. — FIDELITY.

Reverse. — A wreath.

Legend. — VINCIT AMOR PATRIÆ.

Three of these medals were struck by vote of Congress of 3d November, 1780, and presented to John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart, who "intercepted Major John André in the character of a spy, and, notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, nobly disdaining to sacrifice their country for the sake of gold, secured and conveyed him to the commanding officer of the district, whereby the dangerous and traitorous conspiracy of Benedict Arnold was brought to light, the insidious designs of the enemy baffled, and the United States rescued from

impending danger." A pension of 200 dollars annually, during life, was bestowed on each of them. The medals were presented in the presence of the whole army, the year following, by General Washington, with a copy of the resolve ordering the medals, and of the vote of thanks. The design for the medal was given in the resolve of Congress. Paulding died February, 1818. Van Wart died in May, 1828. Williams died in August, 1831, at Livingstonville, Schoharie Co., N. York, aged 79 years. In June, 1829, a monument was erected to the memory of Van Wart, in Greensburgh, Westchester Co., New York, near to the place of the residence of the deceased patriot, in the presence of his widow, descendants, a large assemblage of citizens, and military corps. The following account of it is taken from a newspaper of the time: —

"The monument is a neat structure of white marble, consisting of a base of three ascending steps, and a pedestal upon which stands an obelisk, — in all being from fifteen to eighteen feet high. It stands by the road-side, in a retired valley, in the town of Greensburgh, about three miles due east from Tarrytown, on the Hudson. A little creek winds its way through this valley, bending round to the north in the course of a few miles, until it leaps into the Hudson at Yonkers. The following inscriptions are copied from the pedestal of the monument:

"*On the North Side.*

"'Here repose the mortal remains of

"'ISAAC VAN WART,

"'An Elder of Greensburgh Church, who died on the 23d of May, 1828, in the 69th year of his age. Having lived the life, he died the death, of a Christian.'

"*On the South Side.*

"'FIDELITY.

"'On the 23d of September, 1780, ISAAC VAN WART, accompanied by John Paulding, and David Williams, all farmers of the county of Westchester, intercepted Major André, on his return from the American lines, in the character of a spy; and notwithstanding the large bribes offered them for his release, nobly disdained to sacrifice their country FOR GOLD, — secured and carried him to the commanding officer of the district, whereby the dangerous and traitorous conspiracy of Arnold was brought to light, the insidious designs of the enemy baffled, the American army saved, and our beloved country, now free and independent, rescued from most imminent peril.'

"*On the East Side.*

"'VINCIT AMOR PATRIÆ.

"'Nearly half a century before this monument was built, the Conscript Fathers of America, had, in the Senate Chamber, voted that ISAAC VAN WART was a faithful patriot, — one, in whom the love of country was invincible, and this tomb bears testimony that the record is true.'

"*On the West Side.*

"'The Citizens of the county of Westchester erected this tomb in testimony of the high sense they entertained for the virtuous and patriotic conduct of their fellow citizen, and as a memorial sacred to public gratitude.'

"It was on the whole a very interesting spectacle. The number of people present to witness or bear a part in the ceremony, was not far from fifteen hundred; among these latter were twenty-one survivors of the army of the revolution. Several of this little band have the appearance of prosperous days, and a green old age; but far the greater number looked as though time had laid his hand heavily upon them; and several were evidently tottering upon the verge of that bourne, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' All, however, cheerful; and, as they had not met together for years before, they soon engaged in fighting their battles o'er again. This tract of country, it will be recollected, was what was called neutral ground, — lying between the contending armies, and subject to irruptions from both, and consequently to frequent skirmishings. The little valley, too, where the people were now assembled, had been the theatre of some brisk fighting, and near the very spot where the monument was now erected, Mr. Acker, or 'Rifle Jake,' as he was called from the weapon which he bore, and the skill with which he used it, had killed two British soldiers, of a party who were hotly pursuing him, but from which he was so fortunate as to escape, by flying from one point of defence to another, and loading and firing with good effect from each."

When we reflect upon the calamitous events that in all probability would have resulted to the United States from the success of the deep and treasonable plot which those faithful men defeated, the mind shudders: for the stern integrity and love of country exhibited by them, they deserve to be held in everlasting and grateful remembrance by every true American — by every friend to the "asylum of the oppressed throughout the world."

11. Occasion. — Victory at the Cow-Pens, North Carolina. Gold.

Device. — An Indian queen with a quiver on her back, in the act of crowning an officer with a laurel wreath: his hand resting on his sword: a cannon lying on the ground: various military weapons and implements in the back ground.

Legend. — DANIELI MORGAN DUCI EXERCITUS COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. Device. — An officer mounted, at the head of his troops, charging a flying enemy. A battle in the back ground: in front, a personal combat between a dragoon unhorsed and a foot soldier.

Legend. — VICTORIA LIBERTATIS VINDEX.

Exergue. — FUGATIS, CAPTIS AUT CÆSIS AD COWPENS HOSTIBUS. — XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI.

12. Occasion. — Same as the last. Silver.

Device. — An officer mounted, with uplifted sword, pursuing an officer on foot, bearing a stand of colors: Victory descending in front over the former, holding a wreath in her right hand over his head: a palm branch in her left hand.

Legend. — JOH. EGAR HOWARD * LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRÆFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA.

* Mr. Howard's name was John Eager Howard.

Reverse. Inscription. — QUOD IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACIEM SUBITO IRRUENS, PRÆCLARUM BELLICÆ VIRTUTIS SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS, XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI. (Within a laurel wreath.)

These medals were struck by a resolve of Congress of March 9, 1781, which stated that 80 cavalry and 237 infantry of the United States, and 553 southern militia, obtained a complete victory over a select and well appointed detachment of more than 1100 British, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton. General Lee says, "The advance of McArthur reanimated the British line, which again moved forward, and, outstretching our front, endangered Howard's right. This officer instantly took measures to defend his flank, by directing his right company to change its front; but mistaking this order, the company fell back; upon which the line began to retire and General Morgan directed it to retreat to the cavalry. This manœuvre being performed with precision, our flank became relieved, and the new position was assumed with promptitude. Considering this retrograde movement the precursor of flight, the British line rushed on with impetuosity and disorder: but as it drew near, Howard faced about and gave it a close and murderous fire. Stunned by this unexpected shock, the most advanced of the enemy recoiled in confusion. Howard seized the happy moment, and followed his advantage with the bayonet. THIS DECISIVE STEP GAVE US THE DAY. The reserve having been brought near the line, shared in the destruction of our fire, and presented no rallying point to the fugitives. A part of the enemy's cavalry, having gained our rear, fell on that portion of our militia who had retired to their horses. Washington struck at them with his dragoons, and drove them before him. Thus by simultaneous efforts, the infantry and cavalry of the enemy were routed. Morgan pressed home his success, and the pursuit became vigorous and general." — *Lee's Memoirs,* Vol. I. p. 258.

13. OCCASION. — Same as the two last. Silver.

Device. — An officer mounted, at the head of a body of cavalry, charging flying troops; Victory over the heads of the Americans, holding a laurel crown in her right hand, and a palm branch in her left.

Legend. — GULIELMO WASHINGTON LEGIONIS EQUIT. PRÆFECTO COMITIA AMERICAN.

Reverse. Inscription. — QUOD PARVA MILITUM MANU STRENUE PROSECUTUS HOSTES, VIRTUTIS INGENITÆ PRÆCLARUM SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS, XVII. JAN. MDCCLXXXI. (Within a laurel crown.)

14. OCCASION. — Gallant conduct at the Eutaw Springs, South Carolina. Gold.

Face. — Head of General Greene, a profile.

Legend. — NATHANIELI GREEN EGREGIO DUCI COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — Victory lighting on the earth, stepping on a broken shield: under her feet broken arms; colors; a shield.

Legend. — SALUS REGIONUM AUSTRALIUM.

Exergue. — HOSTIBUS AD EUTAW DEBELLATIS, DIE VIII. SEPT. MDCCLXXXI.

15. OCCASION. — Alliance of the United States with France. Silver.

Device. — A head of Liberty : a liberty-cap on a staff, resting on her right shoulder.

Legend — LIBERTAS AMERICANA 4 JUIL. 1776.

Reverse. — Pallas holding a shield in her left hand, with three fleurs-de-lis on it, (the arms of France,) and opposing it to a leopard, which is springing against it : her right hand drawn back, and holding a barbed javelin, as if in the act of plunging it into the leopard : under the shield, an infant strangling a serpent in each hand, which he is holding up ; and, at the same time, stooping to pick up another at his feet.

Legend. — NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS.

Exergue — 17 Oct. 1777

19 1781.

Hercules, according to the ancient mythology, while in his cradle, was said to have strangled two serpents, which had assaulted him, having been assisted by the protection of the goddess Pallas. Infant America, like the Hercules in his cradle, had destroyed two British armies. The two epochs of those exploits are marked in the exergue 17 Oct. 1777, Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga ; and 19th October, 1781, Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, Virginia. The motto is from Horace, Ode 4th, Book 3d, verse 20. The allusion is highly appropriate and classical. I cannot find any resolve of Congress for this medal. It was, probably, struck by the French government.

The above are all the medals struck in reference to public events, in North America, previously to the close of the war of Independence. Those for General Wayne, Colonel Fleury, and Captain Stewart, were executed under the direction of Dr. Franklin ; and those presented to Generals Washington, Gates, Greene, and Morgan, and Colonels Howard and Washington, were contracted for by the late Colonel Humphreys.* The dies were engraven by Dupré and Du Vivier.

16. OCCASION. — Capture of the French frigate La Vengeance, by Captain Thomas Truxtun, of the United States frigate Constellation. Decreed March 29, 1800.

Face. — A head of Captain Truxtun.

Legend. — PATRIÆ PATRIS FILIO DIGNO THOMÆ TRUXTUN.

Reverse. — Two ships of war, the French a two decker : both much shattered : the rigging of both much cut up.

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* See his letter to Mr. Carey, " American Museum," Philadelphia, Vol. II.

Legend. — THE UNITED STATES FRIGATE CONSTELLATION, OF THIRTY-EIGHT GUNS, PURSUES, ATTACKS, AND VANQUISHES THE FRENCH SHIP LA VENGEANCE, OF FIFTY-FOUR GUNS; 1 FEB. 1800.

The war between the United States and France took place without a formal declaration, in the year 1798. The occasion was the repeated captures of our merchantmen by the cruisers, both public and private, of France, then governed by the Directory; the violation of treaties between the two countries; the refusal to listen to any demand of reparation for losses sustained from depredation on our commerce; refusal to negotiate on fair and honorable terms, or even to receive our messengers of peace (C. C. Pinckney, John Marshall, now chief justice of the United States, and Elbridge Gerry); and demanding a tribute, together with the most humiliating submissions, as the price of an interview! Peace was made after Bonaparte became First Consul, and preliminaries were signed Sept. 3d, 1800, by W. R. Davie of N. Carolina, Wm Vans Murray of Maryland, then the minister of the United States at the Hague, and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, on the part of the United States; and Joseph Bonaparte, Raederer, and Fleurieu, on the part of France.

An account of the action between the Constellation and the Vengeance may be seen in a biographical sketch of Capt. Truxtun in "The Port Folio," New Series, Vol. II, with an engraving of the medals, and in Clark's "Naval History of the United States."

17. OCCASION. — To Commodore Preble, for his good conduct in the attack on the Dey of Tripoli, in 1804. Decreed March 3d, 1805. Gold.

Face. — Head of Commodore Preble.

Legend. — EDWARDO PREBLE DUCI STRENUO COMITIA AMERICANA.

Reverse. — The American fleet bombarding the town and forts of Tripoli.

Legend. — VINDICI COMMERCII AMERICANI.

Exergue. — ANTE TRIPOLI, MDCCCIV.

An account of the proceedings against Tripoli may be seen in the biography of Commodore Preble in "The Port Folio," New Series, Vols. III and IV.

The United States have set the first example in the world of obliging the Barbary powers to respect their flag, by the force of arms; instead of a disgraceful tribute, which some of the European powers still continue to pay. The history of our expeditions against those pests of society is well worth recording in a separate work. The facts that could be detailed would be highly honorable to our brave countrymen; to their spirit and decision as negotiators; to their extended humanity as regards the liberation of the captives of other nations; and as respects the influence which may be produced upon the happiness of mankind by their example of flogging those barbarians into peace.

To the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

In the third volume of the New York Historical Society's "Collections," I have described seventeen Medals which had been struck at various times in Europe, and in Pennsylvania; some in reference to events in the American Colonies; others in honor of the military heroes of the American war; — of the captors of Major André; of Captain Truxtun for the capture of a French frigate in the year 1800; and of Commodore Preble for his attack on Tripoli with an American squadron in the year 1804. I have now the pleasure to send you a description of the Medals presented to the officers who distinguished themselves during the late war with England, by sea and land; of one awarded to Major (afterwards General) Henry Lee, in the year 1779; and of three, engraven and struck by the late Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia.

I am, very respectfully,

James Mease.

Philadelphia, December 1, 1832.

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1. Isaac Hull, ... Constitution and Guerriere.
2. Jacob Jones, ... Wasp and Frolic.
3. Stephen Decatur, . . United States and Macedonian.
4. William Bainbridge, . Constitution and Java.
5, 6, 7. O. H. Perry, . Lake Erie.
8. J. D. Elliott, ... do. do.
9. William Burrows, . Enterprise and Boxer.
10. Edward R. M'Call, . do. and do.
11. James Lawrence, . Hornet and Peacock.
12. Thomas Macdonough, Lake Champlain.
13. Robert Henly, . . . do. do.
14. Stephen Cassin, . . do. do.
15. Lewis Warrington, . Peacock and Epervier.
16. Johnston Blakeley, . Wasp and Reindeer.
17. Charles Stewart, . . Constitution and Cyane and Levant.
18. General Scott, . . . Battles of Chippewa and Niagara.
19. General Miller, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
20. General Gaines, . . Battle of Erie.
21. General Porter, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
22. General Brown, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
23. General Ripley, . . Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.
24. General Macomb, . Plattsburg.
25. James Biddle, . . . Hornet and Penguin.

26. General Jackson, . New Orleans.
27. General Shelby, . . Battle of the Thames.
28. General Harrison, . Battle of the Thames.

29. Major Lee's Medal.
30. Franklin's Medal.
31, 32, 33. Medals of Franklin and Washington by Mr. Sansom.

1. Occasion. — Capture of the British frigate Guerriere.

To Isaac Hull, commander of the frigate Constitution, for the capture of the English frigate Guerriere, Captain J. R. Dacres. Decreed January 29, 1813.

Face. — A bust of Captain Hull.

Legend. — ISAACUS HULL PERITOS ARTE SUPERAT, JUL. MDCCCXII. ANG. CERTAMINE FORTES.

Reverse. — The battle between the Constitution and Guerriere is represented in that particular and interesting stage, when the boarders from the Guerriere were repulsed, and a raking fire from the Constitution had cut away the main and foremasts of the Guerriere, which are falling, leaving the American ship little injured.

Legend. — HORÆ MOMENTO VICTORIA.

Exergue. — INTER CONST. NAV. AMER. ET GUER. ANGL.

Silver Medals were also voted to the commissioned officers of the Constitution.

2. Occasion. — Capture of the British sloop of war Frolic.

To Captain Jacob Jones of the State of Delaware, commander of the sloop-of-war Wasp, for the capture of the British sloop-of-war Frolic, Captain Whinyates, October 18, 1812. Decreed January 29, 1813.

Face. — Bust of Captain Jones.

Legend. — JACOBUS JONES. VIRTUS IN ARDUA TENDIT.

Reverse. — Two ships closely engaged, the bowsprit of the Wasp between the masts of the Frolic; men engaged on the bow of the Wasp while in the act of boarding the Frolic; the main-topmast of the Wasp shot away.

Legend. — VICTORIAM HOSTI MAJORI CELERRIME RAPUIT.

Exergue. — INTER WASP NAV. AMERI. ET FROLIC NAV. ANG. DIE XVIII. OCT. MDCCCXII.

Silver medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the Wasp.

3. Occasion. — Capture of the British frigate Macedonian.

To Captain Stephen Decatur of Philadelphia, commander of the frigate United States, for the capture of the British frigate Macedonian, Captain John Carden, October 25, 1812. Decreed March 3d, 1813.

Face. — A bust of Captain Decatur.

Legend. — STEPHANUS DECATUR, NAVARCHUS PUGNIS PLURIBUS VICTOR.

Reverse. — Two ships engaged ; the topmasts of one shot away, — the other with a few shot only in her sails.

Legend. — OCCIDIT SIGNUM HOSTILE, SIDERA SURGUNT.

Exergue. — INTER STA. UNI. NAV. AMER. ET MACEDO. NAV. ANG. DIE XXV. OCTOBRIS MDCCCXII.

Silver medals were also voted to each of the commissioned officers of the frigate United States.

4. OCCASION. — Capture of the British frigate Java.

To Captain William Bainbridge of Philadelphia, commander of the frigate Constitution, for the capture of the British frigate Java, Captain Lambert, December 29, 1812. Decreed March 3d, 1813.

Face. — A bust of Captain Bainbridge.

Legend. — GULIELMUS BAINBRIDGE PATRIA VICTISQUE LAUDATUS.

Reverse. — A ship with three stumps only of her masts standing; the American ship with but a few shot-holes in her sails.

Legend. — PUGNANDO.

Exergue. — INTER CONST. NAV. AMERI. ET JAV. NAV. ANGL. DIE XXIX. DECEM. MDCCCXII.

Silver Medals were also decreed to each of the commissioned officers of the frigate Constitution.

5. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Erie.

To Captain Oliver Hazard Perry of Rhode Island, commander of the fleet on Lake Erie ; for the signal victory over a British squadron of superior force on that lake, September 10, 1813. Decreed January 6th, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Perry.

Legend. — OLIVERUS H. PERRY, PRINCEPS STAGNO ERIENSI, CLASSIM TOTAM CONTUDIT.

Reverse. — A fleet closely engaged.

Legend. — VIAM INVENIT VIRTUS AUT FACIT.

Exergue. — INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE X. SEPT. MDCCCXIII.

6. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Erie.

Another Gold Medal was presented by the State of Pennsylvania to Captain Perry, by a vote of January 31, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Perry.

Legend. — OLIVERUS HAZARD PERRY PRO PATRIA VICIT. PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Reverse. — A fleet of small vessels engaged. Captain Perry standing up in a boat, while passing from the Lawrence (which was disabled) to the Niagara, to which vessel Captain Perry shifted his flag. An eagle perched on the truck of the Niagara.

Legend. — WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS.

Exergue. — BRITISH FLEET ON LAKE ERIE CAPTURED SEPT. 10, 1813.

7. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Erie.

A third Medal was struck by the Government of Pennsylvania to be presented to those citizens of Pennsylvania who volunteered on board the American fleet, on Lake Erie, January 31, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Perry.

Legend. — OLIVER HAZARD PERRY PRO PATRIA VICIT. PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Reverse. — A laurel wreath surrounding a blank for the insertion of the name of the officer.

Legend. — WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS.

Exergue. — IN TESTIMONY OF HIS PATRIOTISM AND BRAVERY IN THE NAVAL ACTION ON LAKE ERIE, SEPT. 10, 1813.

8. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Erie.

To Captain Jesse Duncan Elliott, of Baltimore, second in command, for gallantry in the action on Lake Erie. Decreed January 6, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Elliott.

Legend. — JESSE D. ELLIOTT. NIL ACTUM REPUTANS SI QUID SUPERESSET AGENDUM.

Reverse. — A fleet engaged.

Legend. — VIAM INVENIT VIRTUS AUT FACIT.

Exergue. — INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE X. SEPT. MDCCCXIII.

Silver Medals, with suitable emblems and devices, were also decreed to each of the commissioned officers, whether of the navy or army, serving on board; and one to the nearest male relative of Lieutenant John Brooks of the marines,* who was killed in the action.

Gold Medals were also voted to Captain Elliott and Lieutenant John J. Yarnell, by the government of Pennsylvania, for their gallantry in the action on the Lake.

9. OCCASION. — Capture of the British sloop-of-war Boxer.

To the nearest male relative of Lieutenant William Burrows, of Philadelphia, commander of the brig Enterprise, and killed in action; for the capture of the British sloop of war Boxer, Captain Blythe, September 4, 1813.

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* Son of the late Governor Brooks of Massachusetts.

Face. — An Urn with the inscription, W. Burrows, on the pedestal; military emblems tastefully arranged on each side, — one is a coronal wreath hanging from a trident.

Legend. — VICTORIAM TIBI CLARAM, PATRIÆ MŒSTAM.

Reverse. — Two brigs engaged. The Boxer on the larboard side of the Enterprise. Main-topmast of the Boxer shot away.

Legend. — VIVERE SAT VINCERE.

Exergue. — INTER ENTERPRISE NAV. AMERI. ET BOXER NAV. BRIT. DIE IV. SEPT. MDCCCXIII.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the Enterprise.

10. Occasion. — Same as the preceding.

To Lieutenant Edward R. M'Call of South Carolina, second in command on board the Enterprise. Decreed January 6, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Lieutenant M'Call.

Legend. — EDWARD R. M'CALL NAVIS ENTERPRISE PRÆFECTUS.

Exergue. — SIC ITUR AD ASTRA.

Reverse, and *inscription* on the *exergue*, the same as those on the Medal of Lieutenant Burrows.

11. Occasion. — Capture of the British brig Peacock.

To the nearest male relative of Captain James Lawrence, of New Jersey, commander of the sloop-of-war Hornet, for the capture of the British brig Peacock, Captain William Peake. January 11, 1814.

Face. — A bust of Captain Lawrence.

Legend. — JAC. LAWRENCE. DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI.

Reverse. — A vessel in the act of sinking, mizen mast shot away; — a boat rowing towards her from the American ship.

Legend. — MANSUETUD. MAJ. QUAM VICTORIA.

Exergue. — INTER HORNET NAV. AMERI. ET PEACOCK NAV. ANG. DIE XXIV. FEB. MDCCCXIII.

Silver Medals were also decreed to each commissioned officer of the Hornet.

12. Occasion. — Victory on Lake Champlain.

To Captain Thomas Macdonough, of Delaware, commander of the fleet on Lake Champlain.

Face. — A bust of Captain Macdonough.

Legend. — THO. MACDONOUGH STAGNO CHAMPLAIN CLASS. REG. BRITAN. SUPERAVIT.

Reverse. — Fleet engaged; many boats on the lake; Plattsburg in sight.

Legend. — UNO LATERE PERCUSSO ALTERUM IMPAVIDE VERTIT.
Exergue. — INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE XI. SEPT. MDCCCXIV.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the fleet, and to the officers of the army on board of it, and to the nearest male relative of Lieutenant Peter Gamble, and of Lieutenant Stansbury, who were killed in the engagement.

13. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Champlain.
To Captain Robert Henley, second in command on Lake Champlain.
Face. — A bust of Captain Henley.
Legend. — ROB. HENLEY EAGLE PRÆFECT. PALMA VIRTU. PER ÆTERNIT. FLOREBIT.
Reverse. — A fleet engaged before a town enveloped in smoke. Several boats on the lake filled with sailors rowing.
Legend. — UNO LATERE PERCUSSO ALTERUM IMPAVIDE VERTIT.
Exergue. — INTER CLASS. AMERI. ET BRIT. DIE XI. SEPT. MDCCCXIV.

14. OCCASION. — Victory on Lake Champlain.
To Lieutenant Stephen Cassin.
Face. — A bust of Lieutenant Cassin.
Legend. — STEP. CASSIN TICONDEROGA PRÆFECT. QUÆ REGIO IN TERRIS NOS. NON PLENA LAB.
Reverse, and *inscription* on the *exergue*, the same as on Captain Henley's Medal.

15. OCCASION. — Capture of the British brig L'Epervier.
To Captain Lewis Warrington of Virginia, commander of the sloop-of-war Peacock, for the capture of the British brig L'Epervier, Captain Wales, April 29, 1814. Decreed October 21, 1814.
Face. — LUDOVICUS WARRINGTON DUX NAVALIS AMER.
Reverse. — Two ships engaged; the topmast of one shot off.
Legend. — PRO PATRIA PARATUS AUT VINCERE AUT MORI.
Exergue. — INTER PEACOCK NAV. AMERI. ET EPERVIER NAV. ANG. DIE XXIX. MAR. MDCCCXIV.

16. OCCASION. — Capture of the British sloop-of-war Reindeer.
To Captain Johnston Blakeley, of North Carolina, commander of the sloop-of-war Wasp, for the capture of the British sloop-of-war Reindeer, Captain Manners, June 28, 1814.
Face. — A bust of Captain Blakeley.
Legend. — JOHNSTON BLAKELEY REIP. FED. AM. NAV. WASP DUX.
Reverse. — Two ships engaged.
Legend. — EHEU! BIS VICTOR. PATRIA TUA TE LUGET PLAUDITQ.

Exergue. — INTER WASP NAV. AMERI. ET REINDEER NAV. ANG. DIE XXVIII JUN. MDCCCXIV.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the Wasp.

17. Occasion. — Capture of the Cyane and the Levant.

To Captain Charles Stewart, of Philadelphia, commander of the Frigate Constitution, for the capture of the Cyane, Captain Gordon Falcon, and of the Levant, Captain George Douglass, February 20, 1815.

Face. — A bust of Captain Stewart.

Legend. — CAROLUS STEWART NAVIS AMERI. CONSTITUTION DUX.

Reverse. — Two ships closely engaged ; a third at a little distance.

Legend. — UNA VICTORIAM ERIPUIT RATIBUS BINIS.

Exergue. — INTER CONSTITU. NAV. AMERI. ET LEVANT ET CYANE NAV. ANG. DIE XX FEB. MDCCCXV.

Silver Medals were also decreed to the commissioned officers of the Constitution.

18. Occasion. — Battles of Chippewa and Niagara.

To General Scott.

Face. — A bust of General Scott.

Legend. — MAJOR GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

Reverse. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 3, 1814. BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814. (Surrounded by a wreath of laurel and palm entwining a snake.)

19. Occasion. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, and Erie.

To General Miller.

Face. — A bust of General Miller.

Legend. — BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES MILLER.

Exergue. — I 'LL TRY.

Reverse. — Two armies engaged on a hill ; troops advancing at a distance.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

20. Occasion. — Battle of Fort Erie.

To General Gaines.

Face. — A bust of General Gaines.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL EDMUND P. GAINES.

Reverse. — Victory standing on a shield, under which are a stand of colors and a halbert, and holding a palm-branch in her left hand, as in the act of placing a laurel crown on the cascabel of a cannon marked R, which is fixed upright in the ground, and is surrounded

with a scroll inscribed ERIE. On one trunnion rests a stand of British colors, and from the other is suspended a broad-sword. By the side of the cannon are a howitzer, helmet, and several balls. Behind the cannon is a halbert.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLE OF ERIE, AUG. 15, 1814.

21. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, and Erie.

To General Porter.

Face. — A bust of General P. B. Porter.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL P. B. PORTER.

Reverse. — Victory standing, holding a palm-branch and wreath in her right hand; and three stands of colors, bearing the inscriptions "NIAGARA, ERIE, CHIPPEWA," in her left. The Muse of history is recording the above names.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

22. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.

To Major General Brown.

Face. — A bust of General Brown.

Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL JACOB BROWN.

Reverse. — The Roman fasces, as indicative of the union and strength of the States; the top encircled with a laurel wreath, from which are suspended three tablets, bearing the inscriptions ERIE, NIAGARA, CHIPPEWA; and encircled by three stands of British colors and other military implements. In front and at the base of the fasces is an American eagle, standing on the British colors, its wings outspread.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

23. OCCASION. — Battles of Chippewa, Niagara, Erie.

To General Ripley.

Face. — A bust of General Ripley.

Legend. — BRIG. GENERAL ELEAZER W. RIPLEY.

Reverse. — Victory holding up a tablet among the branches of a palm-tree, inscribed with NIAGARA, CHIPPEWA, ERIE. In her right hand, which gracefully hangs by her side, are a trumpet and laurel wreath.

Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.

Exergue. — BATTLES OF CHIPPEWA, JULY 5, 1814, NIAGARA, JULY 25, 1814, ERIE, SEPT. 17, 1814.

24. Occasion. — Battle of Plattsburg.
To General Macomb.
Face. — A bust of General Macomb.
Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER MACOMB.
Reverse. — A battle on land, Plattsburgh in sight; troops crossing a bridge, on the head of which the American standard is flying; vessels engaged on the Lake.
Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, NOV. 3, 1814.
Exergue. — BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG, SEPT. 11, 1814.

25. Occasion. — Capture of the sloop-of-war Penguin.
To Captain James Biddle, of Philadelphia, commander of the sloop-of-war Hornet, for the capture of the sloop-of-war Penguin, Captain Dickinson, in 22 minutes, March 23, 1815.
Face. — Bust of Captain Biddle.
Legend. — THE CONGRESS OF THE U. S. TO CAPT. JAMES BIDDLE FOR HIS GALLANTRY, GOOD CONDUCT, AND SERVICES.
Reverse. — Two ships engaged: the Peak of Tristan d' Acunha in sight.
Legend. — CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH SHIP PENGUIN BY THE U. S. SHIP HORNET.
Exergue. — OFF TRISTAN D' ACUNHA, MARCH XXIII. MDCCCXV.

Silver Medals were also presented to the commissioned officers of the Hornet.

26. Occasion. — Victory at New-Orleans.
To General Jackson.
Face. — A bust of General Jackson.
Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON.
Reverse. — Victory seated, and supporting a tablet before her, with her left hand, which also holds a laurel wreath, has commenced the record of the glorious victory of the 8th of January, 1815, and headed the tablet with the word ORLEANS, but is interrupted by a female, personifying Peace, who holds an olive-branch in her right hand, and with her left points to the tablet, as if directing Victory to record the peace between the United States and England. Victory is in the act of turning round to listen to her instructress.
Exergue — BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 8, 1815.
Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, FEB. 27, 1815.

27. Occasion. — Battle of the Thames.
To General Shelby.
Face. — A bust of General Shelby.
Legend. — GOVERNOR ISAAC SHELBY.
Reverse. — A representation of the battle of the Thames, in Canada; Governor Shelby charging the enemy with his mounted Rangers.

Legend. — BATTLE OF THE THAMES, OCT. 5, 1813.
Exergue. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, APRIL 4, 1818.

28. OCCASION. — Battle of the Thames.
To General Harrison.
Face. — A bust of General Harrison.
Legend. — MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM H. HARRISON.
Reverse. — A female placing a wreath round two bayonets fixed on muskets and a color-staff stacked, over a drum and a cannon, a bow and quiver; her right hand resting on a shield, bearing the stars and stripes of the United States, and holding a halbert. From the point of union of the stack, hangs a badge, with the inscription, FORT MEIGS, BATTLE OF THE THAMES.
Legend. — RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS, APRIL 4, 1818.
Exergue. — BATTLE OF THE THAMES, OCT. 5, 1813.

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29. OCCASION. — Attack, at Paulus Hook.
To Major Henry Lee, (afterwards General Lee,) for a successful attack on a British party at Paulus Hook, New Jersey, in the year 1779.
Face. — Bust of Major Lee.
Legend. — HENRICO LEE, EQUIT. PRÆFECTO.
Exergue. — COMITIA AMERICANA.
Reverse. — NON OBSTANTIB. FLUMINIBUS, VALLIS, ASTUTIA ET VIRTUTE BELLICA, PARVA MANU HOSTES VICIT VICTOSQ. ARMIS HUMANITATE DEVINXIT. IN MEM. PUGN. AD PAULUS HOOK, DIE XIX. AUG. 1779.*

30. Medal of Franklin.
Face. — A head of Franklin.
Legend. — BENJ'N FRANKLIN MINIST. PLEN. DES ETATS UNIS DE L'AMERIQ. SEPT. MDCCLXXXIII.
Reverse. — The temple of Independence; three of the Nine Sisters are engaged in working at the columns; four are chiseling a block of stone; two are conversing.
Legend. — DE LEURS TRAVAUX NAITRE LEUR GLOIRE.
In the possession of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. This medal was evidently struck in Paris, and probably by the French government.

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* The engraver has made a mistake in the year, and inserted MDCLXXIX.
The resolution of Congress is in these words: "Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to Major Lee, for the remarkable prudence, address, and bravery displayed by him on the occasion, and that they approve the humanity shown in circumstances prompting to severity, honorable to the arms of the United States, and correspondent to the noble principles on which they are assumed.
"Resolved, That a Gold Medal, emblematical of this affair, be struck, under the direction of the Board of Treasury, and presented to Major Lee."

For the three following medals the world is indebted to the public spirit of the late worthy Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia, who had the dies engraved and the medals struck, at the United States' mint, upwards of thirty years since.

31. *Face.* — A bust of Dr. Franklin.

Legend. — LIGHTNING AVERTED, TYRANNY REPELLED.

Reverse. — An American beaver gnawing down the oak, — symbolical of British supremacy in the United States. Date, 1776.

32. *Face.* — Busts of Washington and Franklin side by side.

Reverse. — The American eagle with an olive-branch in its beak, and the lightning in its claws, descending upon the United States. Date, 1783.

33. *Face.* — A bust of Washington, (a good likeness.)

Legend. — G. WASHINGTON, PRES. U. STATES.

Reverse. — The ensigns of authority civil and military, surmounted with laurels, deposited upon the table of the Union.

Legend. — COMMISS. RESIGNED : PRESIDENCY RELINQ.

Exergue. — 1797.

The three following medals are in the Cabinet of Joshua Francis Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia, who procured them recently in London.

1. OCCASION. — The acknowledgment of Mr. John Adams, as envoy of the United States to the Dutch Government, during the war of Independence.

Device. — Pallas shaking hands with an Indian queen (personifying the United States), over an altar on which incense is burning ; on the front of the altar is a caduceus between two cornucopiæ. A sun over their heads. Pallas holds her lance in her left hand, bearing on the top a hat of the Dutch fashion, viz. a low crown and broad brim, which she is placing on the head of the queen. One foot of the queen is pressing down the head of a prostrate lion.

Legend. — LIBERA SOROR.

Exergue. — SOLEMNI DECR. AGN. XIX. APRIL. MDCCLXXXII.

Reverse. Device. The British Unicorn tumbling forward, with his head against the rock of Independence ; his horn is broken, and part of it lying on the ground.

Legend. — TYRANNIS VIRTUTE REPULSA.

Exergue. — SUB GALLIÆ AUSPICIIS.

By reference to Sparks's "Diplomatic Correspondence," Vol. VI. p. 308, I find that the resolution of the States General to receive Mr. Adams was passed on the 19th of April 1782 ; and as the medal is emblematic of the occasion, and of the two countries, I think there can be no question as to its having been struck in commemoration of that occurrence.

2. Occasion. Treaty of amity and commerce between the United States and the Dutch Government.

Device. — Fame in a cloud proclaiming, by sound of trumpet, the treaty between the two governments, and holding in her right hand the shields of both nations; under them is a lion and the club of Hercules.

Legend. — FAUSTISSIMO FŒDERE JUNCTÆ DIE VIII. OCT. MDCCLXXXII.

Reverse. — Mercury with a caduceus in his hand is crowning a group composed of a shield and battle-axe, surmounted with a crown, and placed against a pyramid from the base of which hangs a scroll inscribed PRODROMUS; ships in sight; a cock standing on an anchor-stock.

Legend. — JUSTITIAM ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS.

Exergue. — S. P. Q. AMST. SACRUM.

3. Occasion. — Battle of Germantown.

Device. — Artillery at a distance playing on a large house; fields laid off on each side; troops in the interval.

Reverse. — Inscription, GERMANTOWN, OCT. 4, 1777.

The device refers to the most prominent circumstance of the battle, viz. the taking possession of Mr. Chew's stone house, by Lieut. Colonel Musgrave, with a part of the 49th British regiment, while the American troops were driving the British army before them; and during the unfortunate delay in attempting to dislodge Musgrave's detachment.

The following Abstracts of the Bills of Mortality for the City of Boston for the eight years 1825 — 1832, *as prepared by order of the Mayor and Aldermen, have been obligingly communicated to the Publishing Committee by* Samuel H. Hewes, *Esq., Superintendent of the Burial Grounds.*

For preceding years, see Historical Collections, Vol. I. Third Series, p. 286.

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1825, to 1 January, 1826.

1825.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Unknown.		Stillborn.	TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	6	2	6	2	3	1	3	1	2	4	1	2	5	8	6	3	3	2	1	3	2	8	2	2	0	1	6	5	9	99
Feb.	4	4	3	3	4	3	1	1	2	2	2	12	8	3	6	4	3	9	5	3	3	6	3	4	0	3	3	4	11	119
Mar.	7	5	6	4	2	2	1	0	1	2	4	6	6	5	5	3	3	1	4	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	5	2	4	83
April.	8	4	13	6	6	5	1	1	0	2	6	6	3	7	8	7	1	3	2	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	7	5	5	111
May.	8	5	9	12	10	8	2	3	0	3	7	7	5	1	11	1	4	4	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	7	7	121
June	11	9	7	7	8	4	1	0	2	2	2	1	4	7	1	0	5	3	1	1	2	3	1	0	0	0	6	9	4	101
July,	22	20	7	11	1	4	3	2	1	5	10	8	12	8	9	7	3	7	1	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	9	9	5	170
Aug	21	21	10	16	7	8	4	2	2	2	5	5	7	2	7	5	2	3	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	7	7	152
Sept.	12	11	15	10	5	5	0	3	4	3	7	5	12	8	4	1	4	0	1	4	2	2	1	1	0	0	6	7	12	145
Oct.	20	5	5	4	4	4	5	1	1	5	8	8	8	7	4	3	3	1	1	4	3	1	1	1	0	0	7	4	5	123
Nov.	3	8	1	7	4	2	1	3	1	3	7	4	11	7	6	4	1	2	3	3	4	5	1	2	0	1	0	3	8	106
Dec.	12	6	3	3	3	1	5	2	3	2	6	7	4	7	5	7	5	9	2	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	3	4	11	120
	134	100	85	85	57	47	27	19	19	35	65	71	85	70	72	45	37	44	21	30	19	36	11	15	1	7	59	66	88	1450

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1825.

Fevers, Typhus	54	Hydrocephalus	38	Cholera Infantum	13
" Synocha	12	Hydrothorax	3	Dentitio	15
" Intermittent	1			Aphtha	40
" Yellow (R. I.)	1	Rheumatismus	6	Pertussis	27
		Arthritis	1	Rubeola	77
Asthma	2			Scarlatina	1
Pleuritis	6	Erysipelas	1	Cynanche maligna	6
Pneumonia	67	Scrofula	4	" trachealis	24
Phthisis Pulmonalis	220	Lepra	1	" tonsillaris	3
Influenza	7	Variola (Rainsford Island)	1	Vermes	3
Phrenitis	3	Heart, organic diseases of	5	Accidental	11
Diaphragmitis	1	Cardialgia	2	Drowned	21
Enteritis	15	Palpitatio	1	Murder	1
Cystitis	1			Suicide	4
Hepatitis	16	Old age	38	Suffocation	1
Icterus	9	Marasmus	2	Poison	1
Peritonitis Chronica	3	Sphacelus	8	Frozen	1
				Cold water, drinking of	3
Dysenteria	56	Abscessus	2	Heat	3
Colica Biliosa	4	Tumor	1	Sudden	35
Diarrhœa	4	White Swelling	1	Bursting blood vessel	2
Cholera Morbus	11	Carcinoma	7		
Dyspepsia	7	Burns	5	Lethargus	1
Obstipatio	3	Sciatica	1	Spasmi	48
		Calculus	2	Apoplexia	12
Intemperance	23	Syphilis	3	Paralysis	14
Delirium Tremens	7	Hernia	2		
				Unknown	227
Vesania	10	Puerperal diseases	17		
		Stillborn	89	Total	1450
Ascites or Anasarca	28	Infantile diseases	44		

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1826, to 1 January, 1827.

1826.	*Under 1 year.*		*1 to 2*		*2 to 5*		*5 to 10*		*10 to 20*		*20 to 30*		*30 to 40*		*40 to 50*		*50 to 60*		*60 to 70*		*70 to 80*		*80 to 90*		*90 to 100*		*Unknown.*		*St. Albans.*	TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M	F.	M.	F.	M.	F	M.	F		
Jan.	11	6	3	5	6	4	2	4	2	1	7	3	4	3	4	4	5	4	1	2	1	1	1	4	0	1	0	2	6	97
Feb.	7	8	2	4	2	1	0	1	0	4	6	2	5	3	4	3	1	5	4	5	1	5	0	1	0	0	6	0	7	88
Mar.	12	7	3	2	2	4	2	2	0	3	5	7	12	5	5	4	1	4	4	3	1	2	0	3	0	0	1	2	10	106
April,	6	8	8	5	1	6	4	2	1	1	6	2	7	9	4	4	0	4	4	2	1	4	1	1	0	0	1	3	6	101
May,	11	9	4	7	6	5	3	2	1	2	8	6	8	7	7	2	6	3	2	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	6	114
June,	14	3	5	1	5	2	2	3	4	4	3	5	10	5	6	5	3	1	2	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	10	99
July,	10	11	2	4	3	1	1	0	3	2	8	5	10	8	9	3	1	2	1	2	4	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	7	102
Aug.	16	13	13	12	2	3	3	3	2	2	8	10	7	0	10	3	3	4	0	4	1	3	1	2	0	0	4	0	4	133
Sept.	20	13	4	12	5	2	3	2	2	3	7	5	8	4	7	4	3	3	1	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	10	128
Oct.	11	6	4	5	2	1	5	1	0	3	5	14	7	5	6	7	4	2	7	4	1	5	0	0	1	0	1	2	9	118
Nov.	6	2	7	8	2	4	0	0	2	1	5	5	9	7	6	3	4	5	2	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	0	8	93
Dec.	9	5	1	2	3	3	0	0	3	3	2	3	9	6	3	4	4	1	0	3	1	0	1	2	0	0	1	2	4	75
	133	91	56	67	39	36	25	20	21	29	70	67	96	62	71	46	35	38	28	33	20	25	6	15	2	2	21	12	87	1254

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City dur ng the year 1826.

Accidental	14	Fever, Bilious	11	Mortification	9
Abscess	5	" Typhus	31	Measles	10
Apoplexy	10	" Scarlet	6	Old Age	40
Asthma	1	" Putrid	1	Palsy	9
Abscess, lumbar	1	" Lung	41	Poison	1
Bleeding, lungs	1	" Slow	2	Pleurisy	7
Burns	11	" Brain	13	Quinsy	5
Bloody Flux	1	" unknown kind	9	Rupture	2
Consumption	231	Frozen	1	Rupture of blood-vessel	2
Croup	24	Fistula	2	Rheumatism	4
Canker	25	Fits	45	Scurvy	1
Cancer	5	Gravel	4	Stillborn	87
Colic	4	Gout	1	Spasm	8
Cholera Morbus	5	Heart, diseases of	11	Suicide	5
Canker Rash	4	Hooping Cough	23	Scirrhus of mesenteric glands	1
Cholera Infantum	12	Hip-joint Disease	1	Scalded	3
Child-bed Diseases	12	Intemperance	38	Scrofula	1
Dysentery	47	Inflammation of the bowels	24	Teething	8
Dropsical Diseases	32	" of the Chest	1	Throat Distemper	6
Dropsy, Brain	29	" of the Liver	1	Tumor	2
" Heart	1	" of the Brain	3	Venereal	1
" Chest	9	" of the Stomach	1	Ulcer	2
Delirium tremens	5	Inflammatory diseases	3	Worms	4
Debility	18	Infantile	40	White Swelling	1
Disorders of the head	5	Insane	1		
Drowned	22	Jaundice	5		219
Dyspepsia	1	Liver, diseases of	11		332
Diseases unknown	161	Lock-jaw	1		703
Epilepsy	1	Lethargy	1		
Fever, inflammatory	6			Total	1254
	703		332		

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1827, to 1 of January, 1828.

1827.	*Under 1 year.*		*1 to 2*		*2 to 5*		*5 to 10*		*10 to 20*		*20 to 30*		*30 to 40*		*40 to 50*		*50 to 60*		*60 to 70*		*70 to 80*		*80 to 90*		*90 to 100*		*Unknown*		*Still born.*	TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	9	3	2	1	1	2	0	0	1	2	4	16	5	3	5	2	3	5	1	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	7	80
Feb.	6	2	0	1	2	3	0	1	5	1	4	4	2	4	8	4	1	0	1	6	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	5	67
Mar.	12	6	2	3	5	5	4	1	3	1	3	6	7	5	4	3	0	5	3	1	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	6	92
April,	9	9	2	0	4	4	2	0	1	0	1	3	10	4	2	3	6	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	1	0	1	0	8	83
May,	5	3	3	2	3	1	2	2	3	1	8	4	8	7	4	4	3	5	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	1	2	9	88
June,	7	1	5	2	0	3	1	1	1	1	5	6	7	3	4	2	8	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	7	69
July,	5	5	5	4	3	2	1	0	3	2	4	3	6	7	4	9	5	1	4	2	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	5	86
Aug.	13	11	4	10	3	1	3	3	3	4	3	5	5	7	3	3	7	1	3	1	1	2	4	0	0	0	1	1	7	109
Sept.	14	12	3	9	1	2	1	0	2	2	4	8	2	8	8	3	1	4	3	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	4	1	10	106
Oct.	6	10	1	2	1	0	0	2	1	3	7	5	0	4	10	4	1	3	5	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	10	81
Nov.	4	6	2	3	5	0	3	1	2	2	9	3	7	7	6	5	3	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	4	83
Dec.	4	6	3	3	4	1	0	1	3	2	5	4	5	6	3	4	4	2	3	3	0	5	0	0	1	1	1	0	5	78
	94	74	32	40	32	24	17	12	28	21	57	67	64	65	61	46	42	30	28	18	16	21	10	15	2	1	13	10	83	1022

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1827.

Abscess	2	Erysipelas	8	Mortification in the Bowels	2
Accidental	13	Fistula	1	Old Age	37
Apoplexy	10	Fever, unknown kind	4	Palpitation of the Heart	1
Asthma	2	" Nervous	1	Palsy	6
Bowel Complaint	19	" Typhus	24	Paralytic Affection	6
Bloody Fux	1	" Lung	36	Poison	1
Brain, diseases of	3	" Scarlet	1	Prolapsus Uteri	1
Burns	8	" Bilious	3	Pleurisy	3
Cancer	4	" Inflammatory	2	Quinsy	2
Canker	18	" Putrid	2	Rheumatism	4
Canker Rash	1	" Brain	19	Scrofula	2
Cholera Morbus	5	Gravel	2	Suicide	4
Consumption	178	Hanged	1	Spasm	6
Cholera Infantum	3	Hooping Cough	6	Small Pox	3
Child-bed diseases	11	Heart, diseases of	6	Syphilis	1
Convulsions	23	Hip disease	1	Suffocation	1
Colic, Bilious	2	Head, diseases of	2	Stillborn	83
Croup	25	Infantile diseases	35	Sudden	3
Diseases unknown	152	Insanity	5	Throat Distemper	6
Debility	6	Intemperance	25	Tumor	3
Delirium tremens	1	Inflammation	4	Teething	23
Diarrhœa	3	" of the Heart	1	Ulcer	1
Dyspepsia	1	" of the Bowels	12	Worms	4
Drowned	21	" of the Brain	1	Wounds	1
Dropsy	25	" of the Lungs	2		
Dropsy in the chest	6	Jaundice	3		
Dysentery	23	Lethargy	1		
Dropsy of the brain	24	Liver complaint	7		
Diabetes	1	Mortification	9		
Epilepsy	3				
	594		224		204
					224
					594
				Total	1022

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1828, to 1 January, 1829.

1828.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Unknown.		Stillborn.	TOTAL
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	12	15	4	3	4	3	1	4	1	4	6	7	3	8	4	3	4	4	1	4	0	3	3	0	0	2	1	0	2	106
Feb	11	10	3	2	0	2	2	2	0	2	3	5	10	3	2	3	2	1	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	72
Mar.	13	2	2	4	3	3	1	0	1	2	5	9	5	5	4	5	3	5	1	3	0	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	3	83
April,	11	8	4	5	5	7	2	5	2	3	8	8	8	4	3	4	0	1	3	1	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	7	105
May,	14	10	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	7	9	3	7	6	5	5	8	2	1	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	8	106
June,	8	4	4	3	2	3	4	3	1	3	7	6	7	7	4	4	0	3	5	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	8	93
July,	11	4	3	3	1	1	1	0	2	2	7	11	8	9	2	3	2	3	0	3	2	3	2	0	0	0	1	0	12	96
Aug.	20	12	9	6	1	1	2	0	2	2	13	7	5	10	9	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	127
Sept.	14	20	11	8	5	5	1	2	4	2	13	9	12	4	4	4	10	4	2	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	150
Oct.	10	11	10	7	1	0	1	0	2	3	13	6	9	6	8	4	5	2	1	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	1	8	113
Nov	6	10	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	3	5	4	9	7	5	4	3	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	0	0	2	1	4	89
Dec.	6	3	2	3	4	4	2	1	2	5	4	13	3	5	5	2	5	3	1	3	2	1	1	4	0	1	1	0	7	93
	136	109	58	48	29	31	23	19	20	38	91	88	86	74	55	43	44	34	20	32	15	22	12	11	1	3	11	4	74	1233

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1828.

Abscess	1	Drinking Cold water	2	Mortification, general	7
" lumbar	1	Erysipelas	3	" of the Bowels	4
Apoplexy	18	Fever, unknown kind	5	Matrix, diseases of	1
Accidental	14	" Typhus	31	Mesentery, diseases of	1
Asthma	1	" Bilious	16	Old Age	54
Burns	9	" Lung	81	Pleurisy	2
Bleeding at the Lungs	2	" Brain	12	Poison	2
" at the Stomach	1	" Hectic	3	Palsy	10
Bowel complaints	2	" Malignant	1	Piles	1
Consumption	217	" Inflammatory	2	Quinsy	1
Child-bed diseases	14	" Scarlet	2	Rupture	1
Croup	25	" Nervous	1	Rheumatism	2
Convulsions	31	" Intermittent	2	Scrofula	5
Canker	13	Fracture	2	Suicide	9
Cholera Infantum	19	Gravel	1	Spasm	1
" Morbus	7	Heart, diseases of	6	Small Pox	2
Chicken Pox	1	Hooping Cough	40	Sudden	2
Cancer	4	Inflammation, general	4	Scirrhus	1
Colic, Bilious	3	" of the Larynx	1	Stillborn	74
Dysentery	29	" of the Bowels	33	Throat Distemper	1
Dropsy	20	" of the Stomach	2	Ulcers	3
" of the Chest	1	" of the Brain	5	Venereal	3
" of the Brain	38	" of the Lungs	5	White Swelling	1
Diseases unknown	178	Infantile diseases	55	Worms	1
Delirium tremens	7	Intemperance	34		
Drowned	16	Jaundice	2		189
Debility	6	Insanity	1		363
Diabetes	1	Liver Complaint	10		681
Diarrhœa	2	Lock-jaw	1		
	681		363	Total	1233

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1829, to 1 January, 1830.

1829.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Unknown.		Stillborn	TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F	M.	F	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	10	7	3	9	3	6	4	0	3	0	5	6	9	6	6	4	3	2	1	5	1	2	1	3	0	1	0	0	5	105
Feb.	10	8	5	3	7	5	0	2	1	1	7	3	5	4	9	2	2	2	2	4	4	6	2	2	0	0	0	0	7	103
Mar.	12	4	4	3	4	5	2	0	3	0	7	8	7	8	7	4	7	2	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	9	103
April.	9	2	3	3	3	2	2	6	2	4	5	12	6	9	4	6	1	0	3	3	2	4	0	2	0	0	1	0	4	98
May,	8	7	1	6	4	1	0	1	3	2	5	11	14	4	6	9	2	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	7	99
June,	6	2	0	6	7	2	1	0	4	3	6	2	4	8	1	3	4	1	3	2	2	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	7	78
July,	6	5	10	7	2	4	5	0	3	3	12	8	11	3	3	6	2	3	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	97
Aug.	14	5	3	12	2	5	2	0	0	4	7	7	7	6	3	4	2	2	2	4	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	97
Sept.	22	13	13	15	5	5	2	3	2	7	6	4	5	4	3	3	2	1	2	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	122
Oct.	8	10	12	10	8	7	4	0	0	6	5	5	6	6	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	108
Nov.	5	11	6	6	11	8	2	2	4	1	6	4	2	9	4	5	1	1	3	2	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	7	108
Dec.	11	5	4	8	5	5	1	3	2	1	11	5	4	4	2	1	5	2	2	0	1	6	1	1	0	0	1	0	12	103
	121	79	64	82	61	55	25	17	27	32	82	75	80	71	51	49	32	19	26	27	15	29	10	15	1	4	5	2	65	1221

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1829.

Apoplexy	12	Fever, Bilious	6	Measles	72
Accidental	12	" Putrid	1	Nervous Affection	1
Abscess	1	" unknown kind	2	Old Age	65
" of the Lungs	1	" Intermittent	1	Palsy	11
" of the Brain	2	" Scarlet	1	Pleurisy	4
Burns	4	" Inflammatory	1	Piles	1
Brain, disease of	2	" Malignant	1	Poison	1
Consumption	203	" Nervous	1	Quinsy	3
Convulsions	28	Fistula	1	Rheumatism	3
Croup	35	Fracture	1	Rupture	1
Child-bed, Diseases of	17	Gravel	2	" of Blood Vessel	1
Canker	7	Gout	1	Sudden	7
Carcinoma Uteri	1	Hemorrhage of Lungs	1	Stillborn	65
Colic	3	" of the Bowels	1	Suffocation	1
Cholera Morbus	1	Hooping Cough	11	Spleen, Disease of	1
Chlorosis	1	Hip Disease	3	Salt Rheum	1
Cancer	3	Heart, Diseases of	9	Scrofula	4
Diseases unknown	160	Infantile Diseases	55	Suicide	5
Dropsy	12	Inflammation	11	Scald	1
" of the Brain	42	" of the Bladder	1	Scurvy	1
" of the Chest	4	" of the Lungs	10	Spasm	2
Dysentery	20	" of the Bowels	21	Spine, Disease of	1
Drowned	19	" of the Brain	7	Stomach, Disease of	2
Debility	10	Insanity	3	Throat Distemper	3
Diarrhœa	1	Intemperance	30	Teething	13
Disease of the Bowels	10	Jaundice	1	Venereal	1
" of the Chest	4	Lock-jaw	1	Worms	3
Epilepsy	2	Liver, Diseases of	14		
Fever, Typhus	28	Lethargy	1		274
" Lung	80	Mortification	8		208
" Brain	14	" of the Bowels	1		739
	739		208	Total	1221

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1830, to 1 January, 1831.

1830.	*Under 1 year.*		*1 to 2*		*2 to 5*		*5 to 10*		*10 to 20*		*20 to 30*		*30 to 40*		*40 to 50*		*50 to 60*		*60 to 70*		*70 to 80*		*80 to 90*		*90 to 100*		*Unknown.*		*Still born.*	TOTAL.
	M	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	15	5	2	12	2	7	3	2	1	4	3	10	8	11	7	4	5	1	2	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	117
Feb.	9	9	2	6	7	1	3	0	3	1	4	9	6	5	5	3	3	1	2	1	4	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	7	100
Mar.	9	5	3	4	4	5	1	2	2	3	4	8	6	4	3	7	5	0	2	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	92
April,	9	5	4	3	4	4	4	0	1	1	6	6	7	3	6	3	5	5	4	3	3	0	3	2	0	0	0	1	12	104
May,	8	1	1	5	3	2	1	3	2	4	7	6	7	4	2	7	2	1	3	2	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	81
June,	6	5	0	6	1	0	4	2	2	2	4	2	2	3	0	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	66
July,	11	3	2	4	2	4	1	2	4	2	4	5	8	6	7	2	2	2	1	3	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	7	87
Aug.	12	11	2	6	2	4	2	2	3	1	5	8	7	1	3	1	4	0	1	4	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	22	104
Sept.	17	5	6	7	6	6	1	1	1	1	9	5	5	7	7	4	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	106
Oct.	10	9	8	9	7	4	1	0	2	2	7	12	10	6	7	5	3	1	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	3	114
Nov.	3	5	0	8	5	2	1	0	3	5	3	4	1	4	4	4	2	3	2	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	12	77
Dec.	6	6	3	3	5	5	1	0	1	4	7	5	9	1	4	3	2	8	1	2	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	87
	115	69	33	73	45	44	23	14	25	30	63	80	76	55	55	45	36	27	25	25	22	18	10	10	0	1	1	2	100	1125

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1830.

Apoplexy	12	Delirium	2	Old Age	47
Asthma	1	Debility	8	Pleurisy	2
Abscess	3	Diabetes	1	Palsy	14
Accidental	8	Fever, unknown kind	10	Quinsy	4
Brain, diseases of	6	" Intermittent	1	Rheumatism	2
Bowels, diseases of	6	" Lung	56	Rupture	1
Bleeding	7	" Inflammatory	1	Stillborn	100
Burn	7	" Typhus	23	Strangury	1
Child-bed Diseases	13	" Brain	9	Scald	3
Consumption	193	" Child-bed	3	Scrofula	5
Chicken Pox	1	" Bilious	4	Sudden	8
Cholera Infantum	12	Frozen	2	Small Pox	5
Cholera Morbus	8	Gravel	1	Sun-struck	1
Convulsions	27	Hooping Cough	16	Stomach, diseases of	2
Croup	42	Heart, diseases of	11	Suicide	8
Canker	10	Hip Complaint	4	Spasm	1
Cancer	6	Inflammation	1	Syphilis	1
Colic	1	" of the Lungs	12	Tumor	3
" Bilious	1	" of the Bowels	14	Throat Distemper	1
Dropsy	15	Infantile Diseases	41	Teething	12
" of the Heart	2	Intemperance	19	Ulcer	1
" of the Brain	48	Insanity	4	Worms	1
" of the Chest	3	Kidneys, disease of	1		
Diseases unknown	152	Liver Complaint	17		
Dysentery	22	Measles	13		
Diarrhœa	1	Mortification	4		
Drowned	15	Nervous Affection	2		
	622		280		

	222
	280
	623
Total	1125

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1831, to 1 January, 1832.

1831.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Unknown		Stillborn	TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	8	4	4	4	5	5	2	3	1	4	5	8	10	2	3	10	4	0	2	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	9	99
Feb	8	9	2	2	5	4	0	1	0	2	4	5	5	8	5	2	4	3	2	1	1	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	5	84
Mar.	8	8	1	2	3	5	1	3	0	4	6	6	11	9	6	12	2	4	0	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	7	109
April	8	9	4	4	1	4	1	2	2	4	9	11	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	7	97
May,	5	6	2	2	5	1	0	1	1	4	1	5	5	6	5	5	2	3	2	3	5	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	10	82
June,	10	9	5	3	5	4	1	5	0	7	3	4	4	5	5	1	1	3	3	3	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	1	2	89
July,	8	6	0	0	4	3	2	4	3	5	10	7	7	4	6	4	4	4	2	4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	98
Aug	16	14	9	1	7	7	2	1	1	2	7	6	9	4	6	4	2	2	6	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	125
Sept.	18	10	6	10	8	3	5	1	1	3	8	5	10	6	5	5	2	2	4	2	4	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	126
Oct.	11	11	5	9	8	6	5	5	0	3	9	7	9	11	6	7	6	5	2	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	136
Nov.	9	10	9	8	7	15	5	6	3	3	14	5	8	6	5	1	4	3	1	3	3	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	9	142
Dec.	29	15	11	12	13	12	3	7	2	5	12	10	16	8	10	6	10	11	5	10	2	10	0	3	1	1	1	1	11	237
	138	111	58	75	71	69	27	39	14	46	88	79	98	72	65	60	45	43	32	33	24	21	10	15	4	7	2	4	71	1424

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1831.

Apoplexy	11	Debility	20	Pleurisy	4
Asthma	2	Erysipelas	2	Palsy	11
Abscess	4	Fever, unknown	11	Quinsy	5
Accidental	11	" Intermittent	2	Rheumatism	4
Brain Diseases	11	" Nervous	2	Rupture	1
Bowel Diseases	13	" Lung	81	" of Blood-vessel	2
Bleeding	5	" Inflammatory	2	Stillborn	71
Burns	13	" Typhus	21	Scald	3
Child-bed Diseases	14	" Brain	18	Scrofula	2
Ca arrh	1	" Scarlet	58	Sudden	5
Consumption	203	" Bilious	4	Skin, Diseases of	1
Cholera Infantum	7	" Spotted	1	Small Pox	4
Cholera Morbus	14	Frozen	1	Stomach, Diseases of	1
Convulsions	29	Fracture	1	Suicide	12
Croup	53	Hooping Cough	26	Spleen	1
Canker	14	Heart Diseases	8	Spasms	5
Carbuncle	1	Hip Complaint	2	Suffocation	2
Cancer	5	Inflammation	3	Tumor	5
Colic	1	" of the Bowels	18	Tic Douloureux	1
" Bilious	3	" of the Lungs	16	Throat Distemper	26
Dropsy	28	Infantile Diseases	56	Teething	10
" of the Brain	51	Intemperance	38	Ulcer	3
" of the Chest	4	Insanity	1	Wounds	3
Diseases unknown	182	Influenza	22	Worms	3
Disease of the Spine	3	Jaundice	1		
Dysentery	28	Liver Complaint	11		185
Drinking Cold Water	1	Measles	2		505
Diarrhœa	1	Mortification	9		734
Drowned	15	Old Age	67		
Delirium Tremens	6	Poison	1	Total	1424
	734		505		

General Abstract of the Bill of Mortality for the City of Boston, from 1 January, 1832, to 1 January, 1833.

1832.	Under 1 year.		1 to 2		2 to 5		5 to 10		10 to 20		20 to 30		30 to 40		40 to 50		50 to 60		60 to 70		70 to 80		80 to 90		90 to 100		Unknown		Stillborn	TOTAL.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M	F.	M.	F.		
Jan.	16	12	6	7	11	9	7	2	1	5	5	2	8	9	7	10	2	6	5	4	1	5	2	2	0	2	1	0	7	154
Feb.	11	8	5	7	11	9	4	3	2	3	7	6	5	4	4	5	3	6	1	2	4	4	0	2	0	0	0	0	6	122
Mar.	6	17	7	13	11	7	6	4	1	5	8	10	5	5	7	3	8	2	4	2	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	143
April,	14	7	9	11	15	17	7	5	4	2	5	12	12	9	9	4	1	2	0	6	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	165
May,	12	13	15	19	17	10	4	5	3	5	5	3	11	8	7	2	3	2	2	4	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	8	16
June,	6	6	6	13	11	20	8	4	3	2	3	5	10	3	5	6	4	2	5	2	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	1	7	138
July,	7	6	5	8	8	7	1	4	4	4	6	8	10	8	2	11	3	5	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	12
Aug.	1	3	3	4	7	8	6	1	3	6	2	15	7	8	4	4	1	2	3	4	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	8	108
Sept.	17	10	9	10	8	5	1	4	4	6	9	13	12	6	9	6	3	1	3	7	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	8	15
Oct.	14	14	10	11	8	8	2	1	4	6	13	5	19	9	4	8	5	3	3	4	3	2	1	4	0	1	0	0	8	18
Nov.	16	7	6	2	8	12	8	2	4	5	10	13	10	5	7	7	10	5	6	5	1	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	9	164
Dec.	17	12	10	6	9	4	0	4	1	2	7	15	9	4	3	4	8	4	3	6	6	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	146
	137	115	91	111	24	116	54	39	34	51	80	107	118	78	78	71	51	40	38	47	25	40	6	14	0	3	4	3	86	1761

The following are the diseases, as far as they were reported to the Health Office, which occasioned the deaths in the City during the year 1832.

Apoplexy	15	Debility	15	Mortification	9
Abscess	8	Epilepsy	1	Old Age	62
Accidental	12	Erysipelas	4	Pleurisy	3
Brain, Diseases of	17	Fever, unknown	4	Palsy	19
Bowels, " "	27	" Intermittent	1	Quinsy	6
Bleeding	6	" Nervous	1	Rheumatism	1
Burns	8	" Lung	87	Stillborn	86
Chicken Pox	1	" Inflammatory	1	Scald	2
Child-bed, Diseases of	14	" Typhus	45	Scurvy	1
Catarrh	1	" Brain	13	Scrofula	3
Consumption	246	" Scarlet	149	Scirrhus	1
Cholera infantum	7	" Bilious	1	Sudden	9
" Morbus	8	" Rheumatic	2	Small Pox	1
" Malignant	78	Gravel	1	Suicide	8
Convulsions	35	Glands, Diseases of	1	Spasms	6
Croup	40	Hooping Cough	22	Spine, Disease of	1
Canker	8	Heart Diseases	7	Syphilis	4
" Rash	1	Hip, Disease of	3	Strangulation	1
Cancer	4	Inflammation	3	Suffocation	2
Colic	1	" of the Bowels	31	Throat Distemper	50
" Bilious	3	" of the Lungs	19	Teething	21
Dropsy	38	" of the Stomach	3	Tumor	2
" of the Brain	44	Infantile Diseases	70	Ulcer	2
" of the Chest	6	Intemperance	44	Uterus, Disease of	1
Diseases unknown	126	Influenza	24	Worms	7
Dysentery	21	Jaundice	3	Wounds	6
Diarrhœa	3	Lock-jaw	1		
Dyspepsia	1	Liver Complaint	9		314
Drowned	22	Lethargy	1		636
Delirium Tremens	10	Measles	70		811
	811		636	Total	1761

LAWS AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

REVISED AND REPORTED BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE,

PURSUANT TO A VOTE OF THE SOCIETY, APRIL 25, 1833.

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1. Each resident member shall pay eight dollars at the time of his admission, and two dollars annually, to create a fund, for the benefit of the institution. And any member shall be exempted from the annual payment of two dollars, provided he shall, at any time after six months from his admission, pay to the Treasurer thirty dollars, in addition to what he had before paid.

ARTICLE 2. If any person elected shall neglect to pay his admission money for one year after being apprized of his election, the said election shall be considered void. And if any resident member shall neglect to pay his annual assessment for the space of three years after it shall have become due, and have been demanded, he shall forfeit his right to its privileges, and shall no longer be considered as a member thereof. Each member, at his election, shall be furnished with an attested copy of this article. The Treasurer shall report from time to time those members, who neglect to pay their admission or annual assessments as above required.

Article 3. All elections shall be made by ballot. In balloting for members, and in taking any question by yeas and nays, the law and custom of our forefathers is adopted, — Indian corn and beans; — The corn to express *yeas*, the beans *nays*. Nominations of corresponding members may be made by the members of the Society; but no member shall nominate more than one candidate at the same meeting; and all nominations shall be made at a meeting previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

Article 4. There shall be a stated meeting of the Society on the last Thursday of every month, except in Commencement week at Harvard University, when it shall be on the Tuesday next preceding; and occasional meetings shall be convened, on due not fication by the President, or, in case of his absence, by one of the Secretaries, on the application of any two of the members.

Article 5. There shall be annually chosen, at the meeting in April, a President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, a Cabinet-Keeper, and a Standing Committee of five.

Article 6. At the request of any two members present, any motion shall be deferred to another meeting, for further consideration, before it is finally determined, and shall then be taken up.

Article 7. Five members present shall be a quorum for all purposes, excepting those of making alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society, and the election of members.

Article 8. No alterations in, or additions to, the laws and regulations of this Society shall be made, unless there are eight members present; and no member shall be chosen, unless there are nine members present at the election, and unless two thirds of the members present vote for his admission.

ARTICLE 9. Members who are chosen in other states and countries, shall not be required to make contribution with the members who are citizens of this Commonwealth.

ARTICLE 10. The time and place of every meeting shall be published in one, at least, of the Boston newspapers; [and the Recording Secretary shall also send notifications of the same to every member, whose usual residence is within ten miles of Boston.] *

ARTICLE 11. The Treasurer shall not pay any moneys, except in pursuance of a vote of the Society, or on the voucher of an officer or committee, under whose direction any expense may be incurred, conformably to the laws or orders of the Society.

CHAPTER II.

Laws regulating the Standing Committee.

ARTICLE 1. All nominations of resident members shall be made by the President and Standing Committee, at one meeting, at least, previous to that at which the ballot is to be taken.

ARTICLE 2. The Standing Committee shall regulate the common expenses of the Society, and make the necessary provision of such small articles as may be wanted, and shall have power to draw on the Treasurer to defray the expense.

ARTICLE 3. They shall aid the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper, when they shall require it, in the arrangement of the books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts, and in the disposition of curiosities and articles belonging to the Cabinet, and shall especially attend to the preservation and binding of books and pamphlets.

* The clause in brackets was repealed in September, 1833.

Article 4. They shall frequently inspect the records and inquire whether all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude. The names of members in the records shall be in alphabetical order.

Article 5. It shall be the duty of every member of the Society, and especially of the Standing Committee, to inquire for, and endeavour to obtain, on the best terms, for the benefit of the Society, manuscripts, books, and articles of curiosity.

Article 6. They shall meet previous to each stated meeting of the Society and arrange and prepare such business as may be a subject for the Society's attention. The President shall notify to the Standing Committee their stated meetings.

CHAPTER III.

Laws regulating the Library and Museum.

Article 1. All books which are presented to the library shall be accepted with thanks, and also every curiosity for the museum.

Article 2. American coins and curiosities shall be kept by themselves in the best part of the cabinet.

Article 3. At every stated meeting, a catalogue of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and maps, shall be produced by the Librarian, and a catalogue of the curiosities by the Cabinet-Keeper.

Article 4. Once in every year, previous to the April meeting, the Standing Committee shall inspect the library and museum, and report the state of every article at that meeting, and what books are particularly wanted.

Article 5. There shall be two keys to the Society's Room, one of which shall be kept by the Librarian, and

the other by the Cabinet-Keeper, to be by them delivered to no person except one of the members.

Article 6. No book shall be taken from the library, but with the knowledge of the Librarian, who shall make a record of the same. A member shall not have more than three books at a time, unless by special leave obtained by a vote of the Society. He shall not retain any volume longer than four weeks, but may renew the same once; after which the same person shall not have the same books for three months, unless by especial leave of the Standing Committee. Members living more than ten miles from Boston may renew their books without personal application. No manuscript shall be taken out of the library, but in the presence of the Librarian, and with permission from the Standing Committee.

Article 7. The sixth article shall not prevent the Committee, chosen to superintend the publications of the Society, from taking out of the library, with the knowledge of the Librarian, as many books and papers as they may want.

Article 8. Newspapers and maps shall not be allowed to be taken out of the library, except by the Publishing Committee and in the presence of the Librarian.

Article 9. Fines for a breach of the sixth article shall be at the weekly rate of 10 cents for every book less than an octavo, 20 for an octavo, 30 for a quarto, and 40 for a folio.

Article 10. An application in writing, left with the Librarian, shall secure any volume or set for a fortnight after it may be returned to the library; and if more than one such application be made, they shall be answered in the order of their respective dates.

Article 11. If books or manuscripts be requested for public uses, or for the peculiar benefit of persons whom the Society is disposed to oblige, the application shall be made to the Librarian, through the medium of

some member who shall be responsible in a written obligation for the return of each article borrowed, within such time as shall be stipulated by the Librarian, not exceeding three months.

Article 12. All persons who take books from the library shall be answerable for any injury to the same, which shall be estimated by the Standing Committee.

Article 13. The privilege of using the library shall be suspended, as respects the person who neglects to pay any fines, or assessments, for damages, longer than one month after he shall have received notice from the Librarian.

Article 14. It shall be the duty of the Librarian to attend at the library, or to procure some member to attend in his stead, on the afternoon of each Thursday, at 3 o'clock, for the accommodation of members; and it is understood and expected, that the members will regulate themselves accordingly.

Article 15. All pamphlets shall be bound, except duplicates, which shall be kept by themselves, and triplicates shall be exchanged.

Article 16. All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and numbered, and kept in cases of paper; which shall also be numbered, and the contents of each registered.

Article 17. Every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered at the next meeting of the Society.

Article 18. A printed ticket shall be pasted on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and also the name of the donor, if it be a present.